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DRAVIDIC SANDHI

By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L.

(*Continued from Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 53*)

IV

Consonants and Consonants

Tamil

Consonantal *sandhi* is varied in Tamil. Both from the descriptive and the comparative points of view it would be best to classify the contexts thus :

(1) With *k*-, *c*-, *p*-
(2) With *t*-
(3) With *n'*-
(4) With *m*- and *ñ*-
(5) With *y*-, *v*-

This classification would be the most useful not only in envisaging common or parallel phonetic phenomena but in comparing and contrasting the different changes in Tamil

amongst themselves on the one hand and with the changes in similar contexts in the non-Tamil speeches on the other.

1. With *p-*, *k-*, *c-* :—

(i) *-l*—(*a*) in "vêt't'rumai" compounds, *-l* > *-t'*[*ṛ*][32] as in *kat'*(*ṛ*)*kuḍam.* In certain compounds like *kâḷ-kudittu* there is no change.

(*b*) in "alvaḻi" this change of *-l* > *-t'* occurs only in the following :—optionally in monosyllabic words (with *-l*) in "eḻuvây" and predicate sequences like *kat' kuṛidu*; usually in adjectival compounds like *vêt' paḍai* and in sequences like *vandât'-ceyvên* (I shall do in the event of coming).

The normal rule of change in "casal" compounds is due to the closeness of relationship. In "alvaḻi", the change occurs only where the degree of semantic intimacy is strong. A noteworthy point is that while in *kat' kuṛidu* there is optional change in "alvaḻi", the change is absent when the first word has a long vowel, as in *kâl kuṛidu.* Here the difference is due to a "structural" feature, *viz.*, the existence of a long vowel in *kâl* which obviously prevents the *sandhi* change. That the structure of words does influence *sandhi* changes in Tamil will be evident from other categories also.

(ii) *-ḷ*—(*a*) in "casal" compounds, *ḷ* > *ṭ*, as in *kaṭ-pânai.* In *kaḷ kuḍittân*, the change is absent.

(*b*) In *alvaḻi*, *ḷ* > *ṭ* optionally, as in *muḷ peridu* or *muṭ peridu*; but when *-ḷ* occurs in monosyllabics with long vowels and in dissyllabic or polysyllabic words, the change may be completely absent: *maraṅgaḷ kaḍiya, vâḷ peridu.*

(iii) *-n*[33]—(*a*) "casal" compounds—*n* > *t'*[*ṛ*], as in *pot'-kuḍam*; this change does not take place in *pon koṇarndân.*

(*b*) "non-casal" compounds and sequences—no change, except after *-in*, the old conditional affix: *varit'ceyvan* (he will do in the event of coming).

---

[32] For the relationship of *ṛ* to the alveolar plosives *t'* and *d'*, see my HAP.

[33] This is the alveolar point-nasal *n*.

(iv) -ṇ[34]—(*a*) "casal" compounds—*ṇ* > *ṭ*: *maṭ-pânai* —An exception is furnished by second case compounds like *maṇ koṇarndân.*

(*b*) "alval̤i"—no change.

(v) -*y*, -*r*, -*l̤*—(*a*) "vêt't'rumai"—the surds *p*-, *c*-, *k*- are doubled, *y* itself undergoing no change: *n'ây-k-kâl, têr-t-talai, pûl̤-c-cevi*—In "second case" combinations like *têr koṇarndân, tamil̤ kat't'rân* (he learnt Tamil) there is no change.

(*b*) "alval̤i"—no change, except in the following types which involve intimate semantic relationship:—adjectival compounds like *mey-k-kîrti*, comparisonal compounds like *kâr-k-kul̤al*, and past participle sequences like *pôy-c-ceydân* (he did, having gone).

(vi) -*m*[35]—(*a*) "vêt't'rumai"— -*m* is elided, and the "surds" following are lengthened (doubled): *paḷa-t-tôl*—except after -*m* of monosyllabic *n'am, tam, em*, and in "second case" combinations like *n'ilaṅgaḍandân* where the changes are as in (*b*) below.

(*b*) "alval̤i"—*m* changes into a *varga* nasal, *i.e.*, *ṅ* before *k*, *ñ* before *c*, and remains as such before *p*; further, in the process, the initial voiceless *p*-, *k*- and *c*- become voiced on account of the influence of the nasals preceding: *maraṅ-guṛidu, uṇṇuñ-jôṛu* (the food that is eaten).

In two *alval̤i* types, *viz.*, adjectival compounds like *vaṭṭa-k-kal*, and comparisonal compounds like *kamala-k-kaṇ*, the change is as in "casal" compounds because of greater semantic intimacy.

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[34] The change of *n* > *t'* is largely absent when *tan, en, n'in*, meet *p*-, *k*-, *c*-; -*n* of *kuyin, -ûn, eyin*, and -*ṇ* of *pâṇ, amaṇ, paraṇ* and *kavaṇ* does not undergo this change in similar circumstances. For the treatment in the *sandhi* of the finals of these words and of a few others like *min, pin, tên, mîn*, etc., see *sûtras* 211 to 218 of N.

[35] -*m* is optionally not elided in *kuḷaṅ-garai* beside *kuḷa-k-karai* [TE, 313]; *îm, kam* and *urum* [N, 223] take the augment -*u*- [or in "vêt't'rumai" sometimes -*a*-] before all sounds except *y*-, like *tol̤it'peyar* or suffixless verbal nouns.

(vii) *-v*[36] (in the so-called demonstrative bases *av, uv, iv*)—*-v* > *ḥ* (*âydam*), as in *aḥ kaḍiyana*.

2. With *t-* :—

(i) *-l*—(*a*) "vêt't'rumai"—the consonant group *t't'*(*r*) is produced, both *l* and *t* disappearing in the process: *kat't'*(*r*)-*îmai* [*kal*+*tîmai*]. The process of phonetic change involves a double assimilation, the alveolar lateral becoming a plosive under the influence of *t*, and the dental plosive itself changing to an alveolar under the influence of *l*.

(*b*) "alvaḻi"—the meeting of the final *-l* of monosyllabic words like *kal, pal,* with *t-* in *alvaḻi*, results in the production of *t't'*(*r*) or optionally *ḥd'* : *kat't'*(*r*)*îdu* or *kaḥd' îdu* (the stone is bad).

The meeting with *t-*, of final *-l* of polysyllabic words, or of monosyllabic words with long vowels, leads to the production of a short alveolar plosive *d'* only: *vêd'îdu* [*vêl*+*tîdu*], *tôndra-d'îyan* [*tônd'ral*+*tîyan*].

It is interesting to note here again how the syllabic constitution of words influences the *sandhi* change.

(ii) *-ḷ*—(*a*) "vêt't'rumai"—*ṭṭ* is produced by the junction of *ḷ* and *t*, these sounds themselves disappearing: *muṭṭîmai* [*muḷ*+*tîmai*]. The assimilative changes are parallel to those in (i) (*a*) above.

(*b*) "alvaḻi"—*ṭṭ* or *ḥḍ* is optionally produced when final *ḷ* of monosyllabic words with short vowels is concerned, while *ḍ* alone is produced when *-ḷ* belongs to a polysyllabic word or to a monosyllabic word with a long vowel: *muṭṭîdu* (the thorn is bad) beside *muḥḍîdu*; *vâḍîdu*.

The difference between monosyllabic words with short vowels on the one hand, and on the other the polysyllabic words and the monosyllabics with long vowels is parallel to what has been noted in (i) (*b*) above.

(iii) *-n*, *-ṇ*—(*a*) "vêt't'rumai"—*t't'*(*r*) and *ṭṭ* are the

---

[36] *tev* [N, 236] behaves like "suffixless" verbal nouns in that it incorporates a *câriyai -u-*.

respective resultants of the junction here: *pot't'rîmai*, *maṭṭûn*. The assimilation operates in both directions.

(*b*) "alvaḻi"—*t*- alone is changed to *d'* after -*n* and to -*ḍ* after -*ṇ*: *pon-d'îdu*, *maṇḍîdu*.

(iv) -*m*—as in (1) vi above;

(v) -*y*, -*r*, -*ḻ*—as in (1) v above;

(vi) -*v*—as in (1) vii above.

3. With *n'*- :—

(i) -*l*, -*n*—both in casal and in non-casal combinations, the change here involves the conversion of inital *n'* to *n*, and in case of -*l*, the conversion of this -*l* to the alveolar *n*:

vin-nîṭci [*vil*+*n'îṭci*]
pon-nalladu [*pon*+*n'alladu*].

The assimilative change in *l*+*n'* occurs in both directions, the alveolar *l* becoming the alveolar nasal on the one side, and on the other the blade-dental nasal becoming an alveolar under the influence of *l*.

(ii) -*ḷ*, -*ṇ*—both in casal and in non-casal contexts, *n'*- is converted to *ṇ*, and final *ḷ* becomes *ṇ*; *cf.* parallel changes in (i) above.

puṇ-ṇîṇḍadu [*puḷ*+*n'îṇḍadu*]
maṇ-ṇalladu [*maṇ*+*n'alladu*]
kaṇ-ṇîṭci [*kaṇ*+*n'îṭci*]

In both (i) and (ii) above, if the final sounds belong to polysyllabic words or to monosyllabics with long vowels, then in (i) a short *n* alone appears after *sandhi*, and in (ii) a short *ṇ* alone appears.

vânand'ru [*vân*+*n'and'ru*].
vāṇanmai [*vâḷ*+*n'anmai*].
kânaḍai [*kâl*+*n'aḍai*].
paśumaṇand'ru [*paśumaṇ*+*n'and'ru*].

(iii) -*m*— -*m* elided both in "casal" and non-casal combinations: *mara-n'iṛam*, *mara-n'îṇḍadu*. In the case of the monosyllabics *em*, *n'am*, *tam*, not only -*m* is elided but *n'* is geminated.

(iv) *-y*,[37] *-r*, *-ḻ*—no change, except after *-y* in monosyllabic words with short vowels, in which case *n'* is doubled (as in *mey-n'-n'îṇḍaḍu*, *mey-n'-n'îṭci*).

(v) *-v* (in *av*, etc.)— *-v* is lost and *n'* is geminated, as in *a-n'-n'ûlgaḷ*.

4. With *-m* and *-ñ* :—

(i) *-l*, *-ḷ*—both in "casal" and in non-casal combinations, *l* and *ḷ* respectively change to *n* and *ṇ* on account of the influence of the nasals following: *kan-mâṇḍaḍu*, *kan-ñeri*, *kan-ñerindaḍu*, etc. *-l* and *-ḷ* are assimilated to the corresponding nasals *-n* and *-ṇ* on account of the influence of *m-* or *ñ-*.

(ii) *-n*, *-ṇ*, *-y*, *-r*, *-ḻ*—no change except after *-y* of monosyllabics like *kay*, *mey*, when *m-* or *ñ-* become geminated.

(iii) *-m*— *-m* is elided in "vêt't'rumai vaḻi" and in "alvaḻi" alike, except in monosyllabic *am*.

(iv) *-v* (of *av*, *etc.*)— *-v* is elided and *m-* or *ñ-* geminated : *a-m-maṇigaḷ*, *a-ñ-ñâṇgaḷ*.

5. With *-y*[38] :—

There is no change except in the following contexts :

(i) When *y-* is preceded by final *-l*, *-ḷ*, *-n*, *-ṇ*, then what is described in Tamil grammars as a *kut't'riyal-igaram*, *i.e.*, a "neutralized" *i* [= IPA *ï*] crops up optionally as an *âgama* between the meeting sounds: *mâl-ï-yâvan* beside *mâl-yâvan* ; *âṇ-ï-yânai* beside *âṇ-yânai* ; etc.

(ii) *-m*—in "casal" combinations, *-m* is elided before *y-* : *mara-yâḻ*.

(iii) TE, 47, records the optional change of *ṇ+y-* = *ṇñ*, as in *maṇ ñâtta* [*maṇ+ yâtta*], and of *n+ y* = *ṇñ* in *pon-ñâtta* [*pon+yâtta*].

---

[37] N, 124, refers to the change of *n'-* to *ñ-* after *-y* of monosyllabics, as in *n'ey-ñ-ñind'r-eriyum-*[*n'ey' +n'ind'r-*] ; *cf. ai-ñ-ñûṟu* [*ai+n'ûṟu*]. This change of *n'* to *ñ* (on account of the influence of the palatal sound preceding) appears to be a middle Tam. change.

[38] *-y* (when preceded by a long basal vowel) before another *y-* following, is dropped, as in *n'âyâḍu* [*n'ây+ yâḍu*].

6. Treatment of rare old Tam. final *-n'*, *-ñ* :—

These sounds as finals of words occur only in the following old Tamil words :

n'—porun' (agreeing)

ñ —uriñ (rubbing)

The " verbal nouns " take an *âgama* or *câriyai* *-u-* (and *-a* also in casal compounds for *n'*) when they meet consonants, in both "vêt't'rumai" and "alvaḻi". Plosives (and *c-*) appearing after these words appear geminated in casal compounds.

7. In Tamil consonantal *sandhi*, the factors determining the changes are the following :—(*a*) structural features ; (*b*) the character of the meeting sounds ; and (*c*) the degree of semantic intimacy involved. I would give below a few illustrations for (*a*) :

(i) the *sandhi* change in *kal+kuṛidu*, beside the absence of change in *kâl* or *viral+kuṛidu* ; and a similar difference regarding *-ḷ+k-* in the nominative-predicate sequences.

(ii) the difference between *kal+tîdu* = *kat't'rîdu* and *vêl+tîdu* = *vêṛ(d')îdu* ; similar differences in *-ḷ+t*, *-l+n'* and *-ḷ+n'*.

(iii) the difference in treatment between *-m* of monosyllabic words like *am*, *kam*, *n'am* and *-m* of words like *maram*, etc., in " vêt't'rumai ".

(iv) the manner in which *-y* of monosyllabic words like *mey* [with short vowels] induces the doubling of all sounds following, while *-y* of dissyllabic or polysyllabic words induces only the doubling of the surd plosives, and even this chiefly only in " vet't'rumai ".

8. Internal *sandhi* of the following types occurs in Tamil. Strictly speaking, some of these changes form part of the past history of the parent language in as much as they are found in many other speeches ; but as they are all clear and definite and, further, as they correspond to similar cases of external *sandhi*, some of them deserve to be noted here :

(*a*) Derivative nouns have suffixes showing the resultants of the junction of different consonants :

l+t(d)—end'ru ' the sun, etc.' [*el+d-*], *vet't'ri* ' success ' [*vel+ti*]

n+t(d)—tind'ri 'food' [*tin+di*]

ḷ+t(d)—kôḍal from *koḷ-* (to take on), *curuṭṭu* (a roll) from *curuḷ-* (to be rolled)

ṇ+t(d)—uṇḍi (food) from *uṇ-* (to eat, etc.)

y+t —n'eyttu (weaving), *koyttu* (reaping)

ṛ+t —mât't'ram (change, etc.) from *mâṛ-* (to be changed)

(*b*) Inflexional endings:

ḍ+t—âṭṭ-, the "oblique" base of *âḍu* (goat)

ṛ+t—ât't'r-, ,, ,, of *âṛu* (river)

(*c*) Verbal extension suffixes:

l+k—vit'k- (to sell), *n'it'k-* (to stand)

ṛ+t—vat't'r- (to be dried) from *vaṛ-*

(*d*) Causative verb-bases:

ôṭṭ- of *ôḍ-* (to run), *êt't'r-* of *êṛ-* (to rise), *curuṭṭ-* of *curuḷ-* (to be rolled), etc.

(*e*) Past stems:

l+t—vit't'r- of *vil-* (to sell), *cend'r-* of *cel-* (to enter), etc.

n+d—tind'r- of *tin-* (to eat), *end'r-* of *en* (to say)

ḷ+t—kêṭṭ- of *kêḷ-* (to ask, hear), *uruṇḍ-* of *uruḷ-* (to be rolled)

ṇ+d—kaṇḍ- of *kâṇ-* (to see), *uṇḍ-* of *uṇ-* (to eat), etc.

y+t—vay-tt- of *vay-* (to place), etc.

r+t—pâr-tt- of *pâr-* (to see), etc.

ḍ+t—viṭṭ- of *viḍ-* (to leave), etc.

ṛ+t—at't'r- of *aṛ-* (to be severed), etc.

g+t—pukk- of *pug-* (to enter), *n'akk-* of *n'ag-* (to smile), *mikk-* of *mig-*.

(*f*) Future stems of *kârita* verbs:—

kk+v—aḍipp- of *aḍi-kk-* (to beat), *n'aḍapp-* of *n'aḍakk-* (to walk);

ôḍuvipp- of *ôḍuvikk-* (to cause to run), etc.

9. Consonantal junction in the colloquial.—While internal *sandhi* changes are all preserved in the colloquial to the extent to which the latter employs the forms concerned, external *sandhi* changes are absent in the colloquial, except the following:

(i) the elision of *-m* in "casal" compounds;

(ii) the doubling of plosives after *y*, *r*, *ḷ*, in "casal" compounds ;

(iii) the voicing of surds after nasals and the conversion of these latter to the "varga" types.

Malayâḷam

While most types of internal consonantal *sandhi* of Tamil are represented in Malayâḷam internal *sandhi*, there are differences and deviations in Malayâḷam in external *sandhi* contexts. One has in this connection also to note divergences between old Mal. and new Mal. A critical interpretation of the rules of *sandhi* in *Līlātilakam*, the fourteenth-century Mal. grammar, and an examination of early textual and inscriptional instances would be illuminative of external consonantal *sandhi* types in old Mal. I propose to deal with this to begin with, and then to treat about new Mal.

I shall take up the rules and illustrations in Lîl. in the order in which they are given in that grammar.

III, 13—"When *-n* and *-ṇ* meet *k-*, *c*, *ñ-*, *p-*, *m-*, *y-*, *v-*, there is no change ".

In the *vyâkhyâ*, the following illustrations are given: *maṇ-kuḍam*, *pon-mala*, *kaṇ-malar*, *pon-vila*, *pon-yâdond'u*.

The commentary also points out that instances like *maṭ-kuḍam* [*maṇ*+*kuḍam*], *maṭ-pânai* [*maṇ*+*pânai*], *maṭ-tûdu* [?] are *not* Mal. but Tamil.

The following points may be noted in connection with this rule and the commentary thereon :

(i) While the *sûtra* contemplates the type *n*, *ṇ*+*k-*, *p-*, *c-*, *ñ-*, *m-*, *y-*, *v-*, the commentary gives *câṇ*+*tugil* also as a case of "no change" in Mal. III, 14 expressly states that *ṇ*+*t* > *ṇḍ* in Mal. The inclusion of *câṇ-tugil* without change in III, 14, would indicate that *ṇ*+*t* did not *always* undergo change in Mal.

(ii) So far as the absence of change in *-n*, *-ṇ*+*ñ-*, *m-*, *y-*, *v-* is concerned, the rule is in general agreement with Tamil ; but in the types *-ṇ*+*k-*, *p-* for which this *sûtra* postulates no

change, the Tamil rules are different, in as much as in "vêt't'rumai", -*ṇ* changes to -*ṭ* and in "alvaḻi" there is an optional change of -*ṇ* to -*ṭ* in the conditions and contexts already mentioned above.

(iii) As for the view held in this *sûtra* that -*n* followed by *k*-, *p*- remains unchanged, it is to be qualified by III, 26, which postulates change (see below).

I would consider that this conflict of views was due to the fact that even during the time of L, instances with -*n*+*p*-, *k*- showing no change existed in literature.[39]

III, 14—"-*ṇ* followed by *t*- changes *t*- to -*ṭ*". The illustrations given in the commentary are *maṇḍîdu* [*maṇ*+ *tîdu*] and *kaṇ-ḍîdu*.

I have pointed out above that the instance *câṇ-tugil* given in the commentary on III, 14, would show that the change postulated in this *sûtra* was not universal. I would mention here that the change of *ṇ*+*t* > *ṇḍ* is absent in new Mal. which allows these two sounds to come together without any change. The older texts, however, show instances of this change, particularly in intimate compounds: *taṇḍâr* [*taṇ*+ *târ*] and *tiṇḍêr* [*tiṇ*+*têr*] in RC, 203, *eṇḍiśa* [*eṇ*+*diśa*] in KR, Âr, 3. I have not been able to find instances from pure old Mal. texts showing the change in subject-predicate sequences like *maṇ-ḍîdu* of Tamil.

III, 15, 16—"-*ḷ* changes to -*ṇ* when meeting *n'*-" and "*n'*- meeting -*ṇ* preceding, becomes *ṇ*-". The instance *muṇ-ṇand'u* [*muḷ* + *n'and'u*] illustrates the two assimilative changes contemplated by these two rules.

The change here postulated is in agreement with the Tamil change of -*ḷ* + *n'*- when -*ḷ* occurs in monosyllabic words like *muḷ*-.

This change does not occur in new Mal. in external *sandhi*

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[39] Most, if not all, of the variations from Tam. rules, expressly or impliedly pointed out by L, are colloquial features (already current in middle Tamil, as attested by inscriptional instances) which came to be universally and unreservedly sanctioned in literary Mal. after the period of L.

except in popular compounds like *uṇṇakku*, *taṇṇîr*, *kaṇṇîr*, *veṇṇa*, etc.

The commentary points out that the change -*ḷ* + *m*- > *ṇm* also exists in Mal. instances like *vâṇmêl* [*vâḷ* 'sword' + *mēl* 'above'], *tôṇ- mêl* [*tôḷ* 'shoulder' + *mêl*].

The early Mal. texts show rare instances of the change of -*ḷ* + *m* > -*ṇm* :—*tôṇ- mêl* [RC, 38].

The more "popular" absence of change is also hinted at in the *vyâkhyâ* to L, III, 20, which alludes to *vâḷ- maṛu*.

III, 17—" When -*m* is followed by *k*-, *c*-, *p*-, *t*-, then -*m* may be converted to the nasal corresponding to the *varga*. The illustrations are *maraṅ-kuṛudu* (*maram* 'tree' + *kuṛudu* 'short'], *marañ- ceṛudu*, *maran'- tôṛum*. -*m* does not undergo change before *y*-, *v*-.

This rule is in agreement with the Tamil rule regarding "alvaḻi" compounds; the Mal. illustrations given in the commentary also show that "alvaḻi" instances alone are referred to; for "casal" compounds in Mal., see below—III, 19.

III, 18—" -*m* + *n'*- > *n'n'* " as in *maran'- n'and'u* [*maram* + *n'and'u*].

The literary Tam. rule is different in that it requires -*m* to be elided in such instances; *n'iṛa-minnum* in Bhg, iv, 18, reflects the Tamil literary rule; in modern Mal. everywhere the *Lîlâtilakam* rule applies. *Cf.* inscriptional *vara-vêṇḍu-n'-n'el* in TAS, III, p. 33.

III, 19—" In some types, -*m* may be elided "—The commentary gives as illustrations *kala-c-cukku* [*kalam* 'pot' + *cukku* 'dried ginger'], the adjectival compounds *vaṭṭa-p-palaga* [*vaṭṭam* 'round' + *palaga* 'plate'], *cadura-k-kiṇaṛu* [*caduram* 'square' + *kiṇaṛu* 'well'], and the numeral compound *âyira-k-kalam* [*âyiram* 'thousand' + *kalam*, 'pots']; further it includes under this *sûtra* the change of -*mb*- to -*pp*-, by mentioning the illustration *pirappugâran* (rattan-dealer) in which *pirappu* is the "transitival" or "oblique" form of *pirambu*.

The change of -*mb*- to -*pp*- in *pirappugâran* stands altogether on a different category from that of the elision of -*m*

contemplated by the *sûtra* which is in agreement with the Tam. rule requiring elision of *-m* in "casal" compounds generally and in a few intimate "non-casal" compounds.

The general rule operates in old and new Mal. alike.

III, 20—"When, *-y*, *-r*, *-l*, *-ḷ*, *-ḻ* meet any of the plosives or *c-*, then the latter sounds are doubled." The illustrations in the commentary are *poy-k-kudira*, *n'îr-k-kôḻi*, *pâl-k-kiṇḍi*, *pâḷ-k-kaṇ*, *muḷ-k-kombu*, *n'âr-p-paṭṭu*, *tôl-p-peṭṭi*.

The rule regarding *-y*, *-r* and *-ḻ* (when meeting the plosives in intimate compounds) is the same as in Tamil; the same rule exists in new Mal. But so far as *-l* and *-ḷ* are concerned, the Tamil literary rules are different; when meeting *p-*, *k-*, *c-*, the lateral *-l* becomes *t'*, and *-ḷ* changes to *-ṭ* in certain contexts and conditions, while the junction of *-l* and *-ḷ* with *t-* is governed by the rules already mentioned above. This *sûtra*[40] of L, however, contemplates for Mal. the doubling of *t-*, *p-*, *k-*, *c-* when preceded by *-l*, *-ḷ*, just as when preceded by *-y*, *-r*, *-ḻ*. The illustrations *pâl-k-kiṇḍi*, *muḷ-k-kombu*, *tôl-p-peṭṭi* show how Mal., unlike literary Tamil, preserves *-l* and *-ḷ* unchanged and doubles the following plosive.

All this would indicate that the colloquial features of Tamil appear to have been recognized for literary Mal., so far as *-l* and *-ḷ* (when meeting plosives in external *sandhi*) are concerned. It may be noted that in new Mal. also, *pâl-k-kiṇḍi*, *muḷ-k-kombu*, *n'al-t-tuṇa*, *kal-t-taḷam* show the doubling of the surds and the absence of change in regard to *-l* and *-ḷ*, as required by this *sûtra* of L.

While this *sûtra* thus describes Mal. features which are at variance with Tam. literary rules but in consonance with Tam. colloquial features, two later *sûtras* of L, *viz.*, III, 26 and III, 27, prescribe for Malayâḷam the changes of literary Tamil: III, 26 says that *-l* followed by *k-*, *c-*, *p-* becomes *t'*

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[40] The *sûtra* runs thus: *ya-ra-la-ḻa-ḷ-êbhyaḥ ka-ca-ta-pânâm dvitvam.* Strictly speaking, then, the meeting of *-l* with *t-*, *p-*, *k-*, *c-* would lead only to the doubling of *t-*, etc.; yet 26 and 27 prescribe the production of *t't'* for *l+t*, and *-ṛp*, *-ṛk* for *-l+p-*, *k-*.

(=*ṛ*) and III, 27 lays down that *-l* when meeting *t-* would produce *t't'*.

I shall show below that III, 26 and 27 refer only to the rare instances in early Mal. texts showing the Tamil changes, while III, 20 would refer to the common Mal. rule which is applicable to both old and new Mal. from a fairly early period. In other words, L appears to have recognized the old Tamil tradition in 26 and 27, while the very general Mal. tendency of avoiding the changes mentioned in 26 and 27 is recognized by III, 20.

The commentary further mentions that *ñ-*, *n'*, *v-* would not be doubled after *-y*, *-r*, *-l*, *-ḻ*, and gives the instances *vâḷmaṛu*, and *mey-n'and'u*.

Here again, the statement is in agreement with Tam. rules only in so far as *-y* and *-r* are concerned, and even here after *-y* of monosyllabic words in Tam. (like *mey*), *n'* and *ñ-* are doubled; with regard to *-l*, *-ḷ*, the rules in Tam. are different.

III, 21—"*-ṇ* of words with long vowels, when followed by *ṇ* [the result of assimilative change according to III, 15], is elided", with the result that *ṇṇ* is simplified to *ṇ* in instances like *vâṇand'u* [*vâḷ* 'sword' + *n'and'u* 'good'], *n'îṇâḷ* [*n'îḷ* 'long' + *n'âḷ* 'days'].

The rule agrees with Tam. literary rules regarding *-ḷ*; and instances like the following from old Mal. texts illustrate the rule of L:—*n'îṇayanê* [*n'îḷ* + *n'ayanê*], in RC, 175, *n'îṇâḷ* [*n'îḷ* + *n'âḷ*] in RC, 28, *n'âṇâḷum* [*n'âḷ* + *n'âḷum*] in Bhg, vii, 8.

Such instances[41] are not generally used in new Mal., except in poetry.

The commentary on III, 22, mentions other important points deserving of notice:

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[41] *Cf.*, however, *n'âṇâḻi* [*n'âl* + *n'âḻi*] (four measures called *nâḻi's*), and *n'ânûṛu* used in old and new Mal. alike, and in the modern colloquial also. Here the *l*+*n'* = *nn*, simplified to *n*, is parallel to the rule in L., III, 21. *n'ân'n'âḻi* [with *n'n'*] also occurs in inscriptions—TAS, III, No. 31, l., 3.

(i) -ḷ of dissyllabic and polysyllabic words [with short vowels] like *avaḷ* (she), *vêdaṅṅaḷ* (vêdas), and a following *n'*- become *ṇṇ* and then appears simplified as *ṇ* in instances like *avaṇila* [*avaḷ*+*n'ila*], *vêdaṅṅaṇâlum* [*vêdaṅṅaḷ*+*n'âlum*]. This is in consonance with the Tamil rule, but in Mal. this appears to have been exceedingly rare even in the older stages.

(ii) Early Mal. texts show instances like *pâṇilam* [*pâḻ* 'waste' + *n'ilam* 'land'], *vâṇâḷ* [*vâḻ* + *n'âḷ*] in which *ḻ* + *n'* produce *ṇ* when -*ḻ* is preceded by long vowels.

Middle Tamil also has instances like inscriptional *kîṇôkkiya* and literary vâṇâḷ, *côṇâḍu* [*Côḻ*(*a*) 'Côḷa' + *n'âḍu* 'country'] (Côḷa desa), though the Tamil grammars (except Vîracôḻiyam) do not prescribe the change as a regular rule.

Now, L while admitting the existence of *vâṇâḷ* and *pâṇilam* in early Mal., observes that this must be explained as peculiar instances [*êvam-api syât kêraḷabhâṣâvaśât*], since no express rule of *ḻ*+*n'* = *ṇ* exists in the Tam. grammars known to the author or commentarian of Lîl.

III, 26—(i) "-*l* and -*n* when followed by *k*-, *c*-, *p*- become *ṟ* (*t'*)".—*kaṟ-kuḷam*, *poṟ-kaṇṇâḍi*, *poṟ-pû*, etc.

This is a Tamil change; and as prescribed here by L, it is at variance with III, 20 of the same grammar.

There are instances like *n'eṟ-paliśa* [*n'el*+*paliśa*], *kaṟpiccu*, beside *n'el-p-paliśa*, *kalppiccu*, *mêl-p-pâdi*, in early west coast inscriptions, and possibly the tradition of literary Tamil *sandhi* continued to be observed by some literary men in Malabar. That the change of -*l* and *n*[42] to *ṟ* was absent in a number of instances even at that period, is clear from III, 20; -*l* or -*n* > *ṟ* (of this type) is completely absent in new Mal.

The commentary observes that the Mal. practice of changing -*n* (of *mun*, *pin*, *pon*) > -*l* before surds, as in *pol-p-pû*,

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[42] In the printed edition of RC, I find *idaṟkum-uṇarn'n'ila* (he did not wake up, even with this) in 302; *idaṟ-k-um* contains the Tamil dative *idan*+*k*. Such instances may have been borrowings from Tam. The Mal. form *idinn-um* or *idin-um* is of very early origin; it occurs in many early inscriptions.

pol-t-tâmara, pol-c-cila is not appropriate for Mal. [*atra la-kâra-châyâ nâti-yuktâ*]. In US, a work known to have been composed before L, the change of *-n* to *-l* before surd plosives is attested by numerous instances :—*pol-c-cila, pol-p-pû, mul-p-pâḍə*, etc.

Apparently, L disapproved of this unique Mal. change which has no counterpart in Tamil, and conservatively stuck on to the older Tamil tradition which required *-n* (and *-l*) in such circumstances to change to *ṟ* as in *poṟ-pû* [*pon* + *pû*].

III, 27—" *-l* and *-n* meeting *t-* produce *t't'*," as in *kat't'aḷam* [*kal* 'stone' + *taḷam* 'floor'], *pot't'âr* [*pon* 'gold' + *târ* 'flower'].

This change is found in the old texts only in some rare instances: *n'at't'uṇa* [*n'al*+*tuṇa*] in RC, 80, *mêt't'aram* [*mêl* + *taraṁ*] in RC, 81, *n'at't'avanê* [*n'al*+ *tavanê*] in KR, Âr., 188, *pot't'âr* [*pon* + *târ*] in US.

In new Mal., the change is absent, and the above instances would appear as *kal-t-taḷam* and *pon-târ*.

Even in old Mal.,[43] the change is found mirrored only in a few intimate compounds like those listed above. Further, the absence of change is envisaged in L itself by III, 20 where we are told that the meeting of *-l* and *t-* results only in the doubling of *t-*.

In view of these facts, one has to think that L in this *sûtra* has recorded an old tradition perhaps with a view to providing for the few rare instances used in the earliest Mal. texts.

III, 28—" *-l* followed by *ñ-*, *n'-*, *m-* changes to *n*," as in *kan-ñeṛi* [*kal* + *ñeṛi*], *vin-nîḷam, n'en-muḷa*.

This corresponds to a Tamil change. This is found in old Mal. texts: *men-moḻiyâḷ* in RC, 21, *n'anneṛi* [*n'al*+*n'eṛi*] in KR, Âr., 238, *n'an-maṇam* [*n'al* + *maṇam*] in Bhg, xi, 4.

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[43] Early inscriptions show numerous instances where *-l* followed by *t-* in *sandhi* contexts behaves just as in modern Mal., *i.e*, with doubling of *t* and with *-l* unchanged. See my HAP.

The features of consonantal *sandhi* in external positions may therefore be summed up thus, with reference to L and to old Mal. texts :—

I. With *p-*, *k-*, *c-*

(1) *-l* — *-l* becomes *ṛ* (*t'*) in rare instances [III, 26]; but in others the plosive following is merely doubled [III, 20]. Inscriptional *mêl-p-pâdi* [TAS, III, p. 30, 1., 3], *n'âl-k-kalam* [*ib.*, III, p. 28], *n'âl-kalam* and *n'âlpadu* [III, p. 32].

(2) *-ḷ* — *-ḷ* undergoes no change, but the plosives following are doubled in some compounds [III, 20].

(3) *-n* — *-n* changes to *-ṛ* (*t'*) in rare instances [III, 26]; but the unique Mal. change of *-n* to *-l*, as in *pil-p-pâḍu*, *pol-p-pû*, had already become popular enongh among literary men to merit the disapproval of the conservative L [III, 26].

(4) *-ṇ*—no change [III, 13].

(5) *-y*, *-r*, *-ḻ*—doubling of surds following [III, 20].

(6) *-m*—either varga nasals [III, 17] or elision [III, 19].

II. With *t-*

(1) *-l* — rare production of *t't'* as in Tamil [III, 27]; but the tendency of the common colloquial to double *t-* and to retain *-l* unchanged is mentioned in III, 20.

(2) *-ḷ*—no change.

(3) *-n*—rare production of *t't'* as in Tamil [III, 27]; but the unique change of *-n* to *-l* in US and other texts may be noted [*cf.* III, 26, Comm.].

(4) *ṇ* — rare production of *ṇḍ* [III, 14].

(5) *-y*, *-r*, *-ḻ* — as before *p-*, *k-*, *c-* [III, 20].

(6) *-m* — as before *p-*, *k-*, *c-* [III, 17].

III. With *n'*

(1) *-l* — production of *nn* and of *n* [III, 28].

(2) *-ḷ* — production of *ṇṇ* [III, 15, 16] and *-ṇ* [III, 21].

(3) *-ṇ* — production of *-ṇṇ* as in *kaṇṇîr* (tears) and *eṇṇa*.

(4) *-m* — production of *-n'n'* [III, 18].—Inscriptional *koḻḻu-n'-n'el* [TAS, IV, p. 47].—In literary Tamil, *-m* is elided,

IV. With *m-*

(1) *-l* > *n* [III, 28].

(2) *-ḷ—ḷ* > *ṇ* [III, 16, comm.].—Inscriptional *poduvâṇ-mâr* [TAS, IV, I, p. 46 ff.].

(3) *-n* — no change.

(4) *-m* — not elided.

V. With *y-*, *v-*

—No change.

The features of old Mal. *sandhi* corresponding to those of literary Tamil are the following:—(1), (3), (5) and (6) in I, among which in (1) and (3) the Tam. features appear only rarely in Mal.; all except (2) in II, of which, however, (1), (3) and (4) appear but rarely; and all cases of III, except (4).

The main differences between Tamil and old Mal. with reference to external consonantal *sandhi* are the following:

(i) *-ḷ*, *-ṇ* + *p-*, *k-*, *c-* —no change in Mal.

(ii) *-l*, *-n* + *p-*, *k-*, *c-* —Tam. changes are mirrored only in the oldest texts; and from a fairly early period, Mal. had begun to show divergences.

(iii) *-l*, *-n* + *t* — the *âydam* [*cf.* L, II, 7 *vyâkhyâ*] is entirely absent in Mal.; further *-t'tʼ-* is found only in rare instances. The Tam. "alvaḻi" *n*+*t* = *nd'* is absent in Mal. external *sandhi*. The retention of *-l* and the change of *-n* to *-l* together with the doubling of *t-* had become current in Mal. early enough.

(iv) *-ḷ* + *t* — no change in Mal.

(v) *-m* + *n'*— while in *-m* is elided in Tamil alvaḻi, *n'n'* is produced in Mal. in similar contexts.

(vi) None of the external consonantal *sandhi* changes of Tamil, outside those mentioned above are found reflected in Mal.

The differences between old Mal. and new Mal. (from the sixteenth century onwards) are the following:

(i) The junction of *-l*, *-ḷ* + *p-*, *k-*, *c-*, *t-* is treated everywhere in new Mal. alike in that *-l* and *-ḷ* remain unchanged;

the surds following are doubled[44] in all contexts where Tam. shows change of *l* or *ḷ*.

(ii) Forms like *pol-p-pû*, *pil-p-pâḍu* have disappeared from the present-day colloquial.

(iii) -*l*, -*ḷ* + *n'* —no change usually in the colloquial, the old *sandhi* change being preserved in poetry and in literary prose.

(iv) While *Lîlâtilakam* (III, 13, comm.) expressly prohibits the use of *ṛ* without the supporting vowel, this *ṛ* has come to be regarded in modern Mal. as an absolute final [KP, p. 96]; *cf.* compounds like *vêṛ-peḍuga*, etc.

Most internal *sandhi* changes of Tamil are preserved in Mal., the exceptions being types like *vil-kk-* (to sell) for *viṛ-k-* of Tamil, *kolludal* (killing) for Tam. *kôṛal*, etc.

The following are unique in Mal. :—

(i) Earlier *vâṇṇ-*, subsequent *vâṇ-*, the Past stem of *vâḻ-* (to prosper), and similarly *tâṇṇ-*, *tâṇ-*, of *tâḻ-* (to go down), *vîṇṇ-*, *vîṇ-* of *vîḻ-* (to fall), and similar past stems of verb-bases with -*ḻ* show the change of *ḻ* + *nd*, the past affix = *ḻnd* > *ḻn'n'* > *ṇṇ* > *ṇ* (simplified after long vowels but retained after short vowels, as in *amiṇṇ-* of *amiḻ-*, *kamiṇṇ-* of *kamiḻ-*, etc.).

The change in this particular context, *viz.*, in past stems, is peculiar to Mal.; Tam. has only *vâḻnd-*, *tâḻnd-*, *amiḻnd-*, etc. But the principle of *sandhi* here is reflected in Middle Tamil external *sandhi*, as in *vâṇâḷ* [*vâḻ* + *n'âḷ*] and *kîṇôkkiya*.

(ii) The change of -*n* + -*ḍ*- (of *uḍe* < *uḍaiya*) = *nd'* in the singular genitive inflexion of Mal. nouns with person-denoting endings and those with the augment -*in* is another unique feature that I have discussed in HAP.

(iii) The nasal assimilation of *ṅg* > *ṅṅ*, *ñj* > *ññ*, *nd'* > *n'n'*, *n'd* > *n'n'* and *ṇḍ* (in some instances only) > *ṇṇ* is another peculiarity of Mal. marking it off from Tamil.

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[44] Common contexts in literary Mal., where -*l* occurs are, besides nouns with final -*l*, the finals of locatives like *id-il*, *vîṭṭ-il*, and those of the "conditional" verb-forms like *varig-il*, *n'ôkk-il*, *ceyd-âl*, *van'n'-âl*. Surds are doubled after -*l* in intimate compounds and sequences; in modern writing, the gemination is not always embodied.

These assimilative changes must have been active in the west coast from a very early time, since forms showing these changes occur in the earliest (ninth to twelfth century) inscriptions.

(iv) *r* when compounded with surds is given the value of *ṛ* in the colloquial:—*n'îṛ-k-kôli* [*n'îr* + *kôli*]; *pôṛ-k-kaḷam* (battle-field) [*pôr* + *kaḷam*]; *ôṛ-kk-* (to remember) [*ôr* + *kk*]; *pêṛ-kkə* (to the name) [Dative of *pêr* ' name ']; *viyaṛ-p-pə* (perspiration) [derivative with *-p-* of *viyar-* ' to perspire '].

So far as Sanskrit loans are concerned, the following rules exist in regard to the change of *r* to *ṛ* in the evaluation of the Malayâḷis: (*i*) in consonant groups formed of voiceless plosives and *s*, *h*, *v* with *r*, the latter is always cerebralized to *ṛ*; *kṛamam*, *pṛakâram*, *tṛâṇi*, *sṛavi-*; but if the consonant groups are formed of voiced sounds and *ś* with the same *r*, there is no cerebralization of *r*: *grâmam*, *brâhmaṇan*, *dravyam*; (*ii*) *r* in consonant groups formed of *r* followed by other sounds, is changed to *ṛ* in Mal. enunciation, except when *r* meets *y*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *h* in which contexts *r* retains its post-dental value: *vaṛgam*, *aṛkan*, *mâṛdavam*, *dhaṛmam*; but *harṣam*, *arh-i-*, *kâryam*, *darś-*.

These types in which *r* is changed to *ṛ* before the sounds mentioned above are (it may be noted here) already represented in colloquial Tamil inscriptional instances of the middle Tam. period.

Kannaḍa

1. The following external consonantal *sandhi* changes are prescribed for literary Kannaḍa by Śś, though neither Bhb nor Śmd expressly lays them down.

(i) All consonants (except *h*, *ṛ* and *ḷ̣*) are required to be geminated after *r* by Śś, 65: *kuḷir-k-kôḍugum*, *budhar-c-cadurar*, *ûr-g-gaḷ*, *sûtar-t-tandar*, *ivar-p-paṇḍitar*.

Here Śś prescribes compulsory doubling after *r* in circumstances in which according to Śmd, 43 (*i.e.*, in consonant groups formed with *r* followed by *g*, *d*, *v*, *j*) *śithilatva* of the consonant group cannot possibly occur.[45]

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[45] Śmd, 184 incidentally alludes to non-*śithilas* involving *r*—*rêphe aḷta varṇakkeṛa girkum dvitva vritti-y-asamâsadoḷam*.

(ii) Śś, 66 prescribes doubling of consonants (except *y*, *r*, *h*, *l*, *v*, *ṛ*, *ḻ*) after *l* and *ḷ*:

kal-k-kaḍiyâdudu

kaḷ-g-guḍiḍam

nil-t-tam, *bal-s-sâhasi*

Here, Śmd does not expressly enunciate any corresponding rule, and in the texts no symbols are usually found inserted to indicate gemination.

(iii) Śś, 70 71 prescribe the gemination of *-l*, *-ḷ* before *y-*, *r-*, *l-*, *v-* : *bal-l-yatanam*, *kal-l-vâḻe*, *mel-l-rannam*, *bal-l-laṇḍam*.

Śmd has no corresponding rule.

(iv) Śś, 72 lays down that *-ḷ* of polysyllabic words with short vowels is optionally doubled before *v-* in compounds. Śmd, 43 postulates that in compounds like *esaḷ-vase*, *-ḷv-* forms a *śithila dvitva*. In laying down the rule of optional doubling of *-ḷ* in instances like *esaḷ-ḷ-vaḷe*, Śś appears to refer to instances in poetic usage in which such compounds have been used without *śithilatva* for the group *-ḷv-*.

(v) Śś, 73 says that no doubling is entailed when the final consonants other than *l* (*i.e.*, *r* and *ḷ*) of polysyllabic words with short vowels meet *g*, *d*, *v* of *kṛt* and *taddhita* suffixes and of *samâsas*: *usirdam*, *usirgam*, *muguḷ-gây*, etc.

The compulsory absence of doubling would tend to show that *śithilatva* was impliedly recognized by Śś for the consonant groups involved here. *Cf.* Śmd, 43 and 44.

(vi) Śś, 74 lays down that *g*, *d*, *v* of the affixes *ge* [Dative], *gaḷ* [Plural affix], *da* [Past tense], *dapa* [Present tense], *va* [Future tense], *gum* [Aorist-Future tense], are optionally doubled when these affixes are annexed to polysyllabic words with short vowels and with final *r*, *ḷ*, *ḻ*:

esaḷ-g-ge, *esaḷge*; *esaḷ-g-gaḷ*, *esaḷgaḷ*, *usir-d-dar*, *usirdar*; *usir-d-dapem*, *usir-dapem*; *kisur-v-vay*, *kisur-vay*; *maguḻ-g-gum*, *maguḷ-gum*.

In *sûtra* 73, Śś prescribes that *g*, *d*, *v* are *not* doubled in *kṛt* suffixes, derivatives and compounds in the circumstances

mentioned above. The instances given under this *sûtra* are partly those contemplated by Śmd, 43 in its definition and scope of some types of *śithila dvitva.* Thus, though the Śś *sûtra* or *prayōga* does not actually refer to *śithila dvitva* as such, the fact that *sûtra* 73 of Śś prohibits doubling would imply that *śithilatva* is prescribed for groups formed with *-r*, *-ḷ* and *ḻ*, on the one side and *g*, *d*, *v* on the other. In effect, therefore, so far as this particular point covered by Śś, 73 is concerned, Śś and Śmd are agreed. But when Śś, 74 prescribes *optional* doubling, it is definite more than *sûtra* 44 of Śmd which says that the consonant groups formed here (with *-r*, *-ḷ* and *-ḻ* on the one side and *g*, *d*, *v* on the other) are *śithila.* I think that the optional doubling prescribed by Śś in 74 is intended to cover instances of poetic usage where in such circumstances *śithilatva* was not attached by the poets to the consonant groups concerned and a *guru mâtra* was allowed accordingly before such groups. Śmd, however, does not fail to envisage this aspect for some of the types; *Cf.* Śmd, 36, 42, 43 [*kela kelavu*], 115, 184 and 231 for optional slackness.

I may in this connection also point out the peculiarities of the approach of Śś to what is defined and described by Śmd as *śithila dvitva.* According to Śmd, *śithila dvitva* or "slack gemination" occurs in the following conditions :—(*i*) in dissyllabic or polysyllabic words having short vowels; (*ii*) only after *r*, *ḻ* and *l*; (*iii*) only before the following suffixes: datival *-ge*, plural *-gaḷ* for nouns, the third person imperative affix *-ge*, the aoristic *-gum*, the past *-da*, the present tense *-dapa* and the future affix *-v*; and (*iv*) in *samâsas* involving *-ḷ*, *r* + *d-*, *g-*, *v-*, *j-*.

The *śithila dvitva* groups occurring in the conditions defined above would thus usually be *rg*, *rd*, *rv*; *ḷg*, *ḷd*, *ḷv*; *ḻg*, *ḻd*, *ḻv*.

Śmd, 42 treats about the consonant groups formed by final *-r*, *-l*, *ḻ* of noun-bases with datival ending *-ge* and the plural affix *-gaḷ*. Śmd, 43 deals with the consonant groups *ḷ*, *r* + *g*, *d*, *v*, *j* of *saṃâsas.*

Śmd, 44 concerns itself with the groups formed by *-r*, *-l* and *-ḻ* of verb-bases with the verbal affixes *-ge*, *-gum*, *-d*, *-dap-*, *-v*.

Now Śś makes no mention of the *śithila dvitva* as such, but prescribes doubling of the second consonantal element in all consonant groups where according to the conditions for *śithila dvitva* implied in the Śmd "sûtras" mentioned above, *śithilatva* cannot possibly exist. Thus Śś. 65, 66, 67, 70 and 71 contemplate only types where the absence of one or more of the conditions for *śithilatva* given above prevents the consonant groups from being slack; and as if to obviate the possibility of these consonant groups being mistaken for "slack groups", Śś elaborately prescribes compulsory (doubling to be symbolically represented) in types like *kuḷir-k-kôḍugum* [65], *kal-k-kaḍiyâdudu* and *kaḷ-g-guḍidam* [66], *barisi-p-pradhânaram* [67], *bal-l-yatnam*, *bal-l-rannam* [70] and *oḷ-ḷ-yatnam* [71], the gemination in 70 and 71 affecting not the second consonantal element [*viz.*, *y*, *r*] of the consonant groups but only *-l* or *ḷ* of the first constituent of the compounds. The gemination prescribed for these particular types by Śś is nowhere laid down in Śmd, and is not found adopted ordinarily in MSS. or printed texts. The approach of Śmd to such types is limited to the view that in these no *śithilatva* is involved [*cf.* Śmd, 59, 60, which expressly point out that there is no slackness in consonant groups like *pr*, *tr*], and that if one remembers the conditions for *śithilatva* implied or expressed in *sūtras* 42 to 45 of Śmd, there cannot be any difficulty in marking off the "slack groups" from the genuine *dvitvas*. I think that this approach to the problem is more in fitting with the actual conditions of the language than the perspective of Śś which lays down what I would characterise as superfluous rules of gemination in consonant groups where there is no *śithilatva*.

The main difference in the approach between Śś and Śmd lies in the fact that Śś accords recognition to optional slackness and absence of slackness through unnecessary

prescriptions of doubling, whereas Śmd,[46] does not insist on compulsory doubling in such types, though the *sûtras* 42, 36, 115, 184 and 231 do not fail to refer to optional *śithilatva*.

2. *ṛ* changes to *r* when meeting other consonants: *mâr-nuḍi* [*mâṛ(u)* 'other' + *nuḍi* 'word']; *bêr-paḍ-* [*bêṛ(u)* 'separate + *paḍ-* 'to happen, etc.'], *nêsar-gaḷ* [*nêsaṛ(u)* 'sun' + *gaḷ*, the plural affix], *nêsar mûḍitukedar-tale*, etc.

It is said that while the change is optional in some sequences like *nêsar-mûḍitu*, *bêsar-tolagitu*, etc., it is constant in optatives like *tórke*.

This change does not occur in forms like *tôṛuvam*, in compounds like *kiṛu-gôl* [Śś, 87] in which the first constituent has a short basal vowel, and in compounds with *mûṛu* (three) and *âṛu* (six) [Śś, 88].

The change of *ṛ* > *r* when meeting consonants occurs in Telugu in instances like *nûrvuru* (hundred persons) where *nûṛu* appears as *nûr-*, and in *cervu* (tank) for *ceṛuvu*.

In literary Tamil the change is never permitted, the possibility being barred by the fact that *ṛ* is always followed by a supporting vowel.

3. *ḍ* becomes *ḻ* when meeting other consonants: *eraḻ-kudire* [*eraḍu* +*kudire*], *kâḻ-kircu* [*kâḍ(u)*+*kircu*], *mâḻkum* [*mâḍ(u)* 'to do' + *-kum*, the aoristic Future ending], *mâḻke*, etc.

Here too, in forms like *mâḍuvam*, and those like *kaḍugampu* [Śś, 87] the change does not take place.

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46 Śmd, 42 refers to the *bahulatvam* in slackness, and 43 uses the phrase *kela kelavu*, thereby implying that some instances may not show slackness.

The commentator of Śmd [Mangalore edition] interprets the statement: *śithila vṛtti tânuccariparge yathêṣṭam* in 115 as meaning that instances like *budhar-ge* may involve optional doubling of *-g-* [*budhar-g-ge*] if *-rg-* is not *śithila*; but there is nothing in the *sûtra* itself which justifies the symbolic representation of consonantal gemination as such. Śmd, 36 also alludes to optional *śithilatva* and to the absence of it. The only context in which there is any provision made in Śmd for doubling in non-*śithila* consonant groups is in 184 for *g* after *r* and in 231 for *p* after *r*; but here the observations appear to be incidentally made, and no absoluteness is aimed at.

For the phonetic change involved here, *cf.* Mal. *kâl̤ca* (sight) < *kâṭ-ca* [*cf.* Tam. *kâṭ-ci*], Mal. *malayâl̤-ma* < *malayâṇ-ma*.

4. *k-*, *t-*, *p-* become voiced (except after *or-* and *ir-*) when preceded immediately by consonants other than *r* < *ṛ* and by *l̤* < *ḍ*, mentioned above.

bây-deṛe [*bây*+*teṛe*]

taṇ-gadir [*taṇ*+*kadir*]

kaṇ-deṛavi [*kaṇ*+*teṛavi*]

The voicing is due to the influence of the sonority of the neighbouring consonants. In Tamil the treatment is different and varied.

5. *p-*, *b-*, *m-* become weakened to *v-* optionally after consonants [Śmd, 66, Śś, 91]: *kay-voydam* [*kay* + *poydam*], *mêl-vaṇṇam* [*mêl*+*baṇṇam*], *mel-vâtu* [*mel*+*mâtu*]. This change, however, is absent in quite a number of instances like *pâl̤-mane* *nîr-majjige*, etc.

Cf. a similar "weakening" of *p-* to *v-* in colloquial Mal. *kîl̤oṭṭə*, *kil̤-veṭṭə* for *kîl̤-peṭṭə* (downwards), etc.

6. *s-* is said to be changed to *c-* or *j-* and to *ch-* in *sâsiram* (thousand) after consonants:

in-caram [*in* 'sweet' + *saram* < IA *svara*]

taṇ-joḍar [*taṇ* + *soḍar*]

ir-châsiram [*ir* + *sâsiram*]

The change does not occur after *y*, *l* and in instances like *kaṇ-sôl-*.

The aspirate in *ir-châsiram*, etc. may be due to the influence of *-h-* in originals of *sâsiram* which ultimately goes back to IA *sahasra*.

7. *-m* and *-n* are described in the grammars as changing to the *anusvâra* (or *sonne*, as it is called in Kannaḍa) in *virâmas* (*i.e.*, before pauses) and before consonants. [Śmd, 161; and Śś, 79]. The chief forms concerned here are:

(i) singular *ân* (I), *avan* (he), *tân*; the sing. personal endings *-en* and *-an-*;

(ii) plural *âm* (we), *nîm* (you), *tâm* (selves); the plural verbal pronominal ending *em*.

(iii) accusative ending *-aṇ*.

(iv) nouns with final *-am*, *-n*; the inflexional ending *-in*; the second person plural imperative *-im*; the aoristic tense affix *-kum* or *-gum*; the samuccaya *-um*; the suffix *-udum*; etc.

The forms as given by me above are those occurring before vowels following; and it is these forms that are structurally related to cognate forms in other Dravidian speeches.

In ancient Kannaḍa, all these were written with a final *bindu* or *sonne* when they are followed by consonants or by pauses: *âṃ vâdi*, *âṃ kulînar*, *aṇṇaṃ bandaṃ*, etc.

The change contemplated here is that of *-m* and *-n* to a *bindu*; but in the representation of the sound by the *bindu*, was there an actual sound-change, or was it merely graphic? In this connection, one may note how the druta *n* of Telugu may be represented by the *bindu* [optionally] before *âdêśa saraḷa* plosives; and one may also compare how before consonants (and sometimes before pauses) *-n* in Tamil colloquial becomes a mere nasal twang, as in *avã* for *avan*, *pônẽ* for *pônên* (I went). I think that the use of the *bindu* in Old Kannaḍa for *-n* may not have been merely graphic but may have denoted a sound-change similar to the change in Tamil.

The distinction between *-n* and *-m* (which would be very clear before vowels following) need not necessarily have been lost sight of, even while the *bindu* was used for both *-n* and *-m* before consonants.

8. *-m* and *-n* become *varga* nasals before plosives [BhB, 120; Śmd, 161; Śś, 80]—*cf*. similar rules for Tamil [TE, 144], and for Mal. [L, III, 17].

9. *-ṇ* meeting *n* gives rise to *-ṇṇ* always in *samâsas* and optionally in word-sequences [BhB, 121; Śmd, 158].

kaṇṇîru—kaṇ (*eye*) + *nîru* (water)
taṇṇeḷal—taṇ + *neḷal*
kaṇṇeradadu beside *kaṇ neradadu*.
kaṇṇondudu beside *kaṇ nondudu*.
Cf. the Tam. type of *kaṇṇîru*.

10. Kannaḍa shows the following types of consonantal changes in internal *sandhi* :—

A.— (i) *ḷ* + *t*—*uṇḍu* [*uḷ* + *t*]

(ii) *ṇ* + *t*—*kaṇḍ-*, the Past stem of *kâṇ-*

(iii) *ḍ* + *t*—*biṭṭ-*, ,, ,, *biḍ-*

(iv) *g* + *t*—*pukk-* ,, ,, *pug-*

,, ,, *nikk-* ,, ,, *mig-*

All these occur in the formation of Past stems in Kannaḍa. Possibly Kann. *nind-* [the Past stem of *nil-* 'to stand'], *kond-* [of *kol-* 'to kill'], *sand-* [of *sal-* 'to enter'], *tind-* [of *tin-* 'to eat'] show a group *-nd-* derived ultimately from a group like *nd'(r)* occurring in cognate Tamil stems ; there is, however, no direct proof available in Kannaḍa, but circumstantial evidence tends to lend some support for this view (see my "History of the Alveolar Plosive").

It may be noted that these internal *sandhi* changes are not so widely distributed among the grammatical categories in Kannaḍa as in Tamil or in Telugu.

B.—(i) The Future stems of verbs with final *r*, *ṛ*, *ḻ*, *n* show a *p* which is the resultant of the *sandhi* change arising from the meeting of these sounds with the Future ending *-v-* : *barp-* of *bar* (to come), *tôrp-* of *tôṛ-* (to appear), *agaḻp-* of *agaḻ-* (to dig), *nônp-* of *nôn-* (to take a vow); *cf.* Tamil *-b-* in the common Future stems *tinb-* of *tin-*, *enb-* of *en-*, etc.

(ii) The Future stem of *pôg-* (to go) is *pôp-* and of *âg-* (to become) is *âp-* in Kannaḍa. Here the *sandhi* change is *-g-* (*k*) + *v* = *p-*.[47] *Cf.* Tam. *âb-* appearing sometimes in the Future stems of *âg-* (to become)

(iii) The Future stems of the causative verbs in Kann. show *-pp-* : *taripp-* of *tar-i-s-* (to cause to give), *baripp-* of *bar-i-s* (to cause to come), etc. I would postulate here an

[47] A *sandhi* change of this kind [*i.e.*, *kk* + *v* = *pp*] underlies Tam. colloquial forms like *eḍuttuppâḷ* < *eḍuttukk*(*u*)*vâḷ* < *eḍuttu-k-koḷvârgaḷ* (they will take) in which the help-verb *koḷ-* appears compounded with the past participle of *eḍ-* to take.

old change: *-kk-* [the *kârita* ending appearing in Tamil causatives like *varuvi-kk-* (to cause to come) but regularly replaced from a pre-historic period in Kannaḍa by *-s-*] + Future affix *-v-* = *-pp-*. *Cf.* Tam *varuvipp-*, the future stem of the causative *ceyvipp-* of *ceyvikk-* (to cause to do); etc.

11. It is noteworthy that most of the types of Tamil literary external *sandhi* in the meeting of consonants and consonants are not represented in Kannaḍa. Kann. *padinâlku* and *nânûṛu*, it is true, presuppose two changes [elision of *n* of *padin-* in the former, and of *l* of *nâl* in the latter] numerously represented in Tam. literary external *sandhi*; but such instances are very few, aud on the whole one may say that the somewhat standardized rules of Tam. literary external *sandhi* in the meeting of consonants with consonants are mostly absent in Kannaḍa.

THE TRAINING OF A CIVILIAN IN INDIA FROM 1800 to 1850

(*With reference to Col. Mark Wilks' letters to his nephew,*) *Sir Mark Cubbon*)

By Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

I

The I.C.S. was till lately not a simple instrument of Government but the Government itself. The Indian Councils were debarred from making or unmaking Government. In the table of precedence an Indian civilian always ranked above a member of any other Indian service of similar age and standing. Look also at the position of the Secretariat. No proposal of Government could be carried into effect without the imprimatur of this premier service, and even the Secretary of State for India was powerless against the united opposition of this bureaucracy. In spite of this no scientific study of the growth of this institution has been so far made, partly owing to lack of academic interest in it but largely owing to a greater attachment to current and personal interests. Mr. O'Malley's book which is the latest is propagandistic, as it is obvious that scant justice has been done by him to the condition of the service in the greatest age ot the British history in India, *viz.*, from 1800 to 1850 when happiness of the Indians in a material way was practicable only with the British aid.

It is not proposed herein to relate the story in detail. A full account will be possible and available when the research has been thorough or undertaken by a group of students distributed over the country. This paper is confined absolutely to a minor topic in the development of the Civil Service, *viz.*, the training of the fresh man, between 1800 and 1850. These dates are chosen definitely, because they are landmarks in the political history of the Company. In 1800, it was the head or master of an empire, and in 1850 it was understood that it

ought to cease to be such, and between these dates lie events that made or marred its fortunes in the East.

Until 1792 the Company was attentive to Bengal principally. Money and all things connected with it, *viz.*, assessment, collection, imposts, accounting, remittance, commissions, etc., were the major concern of the Company, and peace and goodwill to the inhabitants of the country were means to that end. Cornwallis' administrative reforms may be said to have been helpful to the peace-loving citizens of the English type, but they could not alter the instincts of the Company that employed him. There is Mr. O'Malley's statement that 'even after the duties of the Company's servants had ceased to be purely commercial, the only educational qualification required for admission to the Service was a rudimentary commercial training: a certificate that the applicant for a nomination had gone through a regular set of commercial accounts was the only test'.

After 1792, however, when the Company was adding at a terrific rate kingdom after kingdom to its possessions, either by conquest or diplomacy, without adequate machinery or men to cope with the situation, the outlook had to change at least in regular conduct. The Directors could not but make a compromise with the demand of the local officials, beginning with Wellesley. 'He pointed out that the Company's Civil Servants were no longer merely the agents of a commercial concern but helped to administer an empire....They were called on to administer districts and to fill the important offices of magistrates, ambassadors, and provincial governors,' 'carrying out duties which were those of statesmen in other parts of the world'. He prepared accordingly a plan of recruitment and training of the young people who would be willing to serve the Company in the altered circumstances. This included the establishment of a College at Calcutta, a course of education in general principles of ethics, civil jurisprudence, international law and general history besides instruction in the languages, history, and laws of the Indians, and a provision for understanding the political and commercial policy of Great Britain

in the East. He even started the College in anticipation of the Directors' sanction, with professors and pupils. But unfortunately for him this was refused. Wellesley was ordered however to keep the College open for studying Oriental languages and also to make it optional for the non-Bengal officials to join the College. They added that the part of his scheme which was intended for the general education of the selected boys would be carried out in a college to be established thereafter in England, as this was actually done in 1806 at Haileybury. The object of this institution was 'to provide a supply of persons duly qualified to discharge the various and important duties required from the Civil Servants of the Company in administering the Government of India'. Appointments were reserved by statute to all successful students, and until 1826 no one could become a Writer without four terms at this College. The failed students were not sent home but appointed as cadets in the Company's cavalry, which was not bad at all.

This system continued right till 1850 with no great modifications. The Directors nominated the candidates among themselves individually instead of in a body or as a Court: but the young men had to be between 17 and 21 years of age, and to pass a severe entrance test, before they would be admitted into the Haileybury College to study for two years or four terms. After this, when they would be between 19 and 23 in age, they would come to India with a certificate of fitness for appointment in the public service. Their allocation to the presidencies was done in England absolutely. But before a young man would join any particular post he was *obliged*, if assigned to Bengal servants, but simply *invited* if it were to any other part of India, to study Oriental languages at the Wellesley College at Calcutta and to obtain a pass in them within eighteen months. Thereafter he could go out as an assistant to a Magistrate and Collector for seven years with changes of districts and then become eligible for an independent charge as a Collector.

Wellesley's plan was not therefore carried out or considered fully at any time by the Directors. There can be no doubt that it would have been better for India if it had been approved

and given effect to *in toto.* We have evidence that even the English people were dissatisfied with 'Haileybury'. Campbell wrote in 1852 that 'Haileybury is a very useful place, but the system and tests of qualification should be considerably altered,' and that the College at Calcutta was 'a very ingenious plan for at once fully developing, and it may be expending, all his bad qualities'. Mr. O'Malley also writes that 'the College of Fort William outlived its usefulness many years before it came to an end' and that the examination in England until 1853 searched 'knowledge of wide surface but small depth'.

It now remains to ask how it happened that such a poor organisation of the Civil Service owns a record of services that even the best service that exists in the West to-day has not been able to beat. But the answer is simple: it was by self-help and sacrifice of home life, and by enlarging the spirit of *service* instead of strengthening the spirit of the body (*esprit de corps*).

The pioneers in this direction were the military officers in civil employment. They were nothing but practical men with an exceptional sense of duty. Selected at random or through interest and having received but the baptism of fire and sun for their qualification, they were at first meant to be stop-gaps. The Court of Directors were furious against the practice as much as the covenanted servants. But Government and pacification, particularly in the desert, hilly and unruly areas, lay more easily at the command of the army man than at a civilian's, and the practice was continued for half a century until Dalhousie placed his foot upon it. The so-called Non-Regulation provinces which were quite plenty and popular for some time in the last century were open fields for this experiment, and the reputation of the military officers who governed them has become historical.

It was a habit of these men and of others in the Civil Service to keep correspondence with friends with a view to exchange ideas regarding service and to record or file the most valuable letters for the benefit of their juniors and companions or for their own future guidance. Relations were more active in this way, and family traditions were carefully built up. Personal

visits were occasional, but these gave the tone to the juniors who were visited by the seniors. Books were lent or borrowed mutually, and Colonel Webbe is supposed to have made over his library to Colonel Wilks, as was the fashion in all intimate circles. Money was lent privately to meet the immediate demands, and sometimes horses were presented from private stables. It should be noticed that in all these transactions there was nothing ignoble or unworthy of them. One has to read the lives of Sir Thomas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Henry Lawrence, and such other Governors to be sure of their sterling character. The Duke of Wellington's references to Dewan Purnayya in his letters to Munro, to his Governor-General brother, and to others, without any clue to Purnayya, will make any Indian move towards the Duke. And such honest regard for Indian talent was common to all officers of that military age. The result of such personal correspondence, visit and help, and of such an innocent sympathy with Indians was imitation of one another and adoption of similar types of government, *viz.*, 'the Wellesley type,' the 'Mysore System,' 'the Panjab School,' and the like, all of which had many features in common and few differences.

A second way in which the service rendered help to itself was by the issue of Instructions. The senior would send them to all his juniors for guidance, and these would pass them on in their turn of seniority to their juniors with necessary alterations. These instructions related not only to the routine of office work but also and largely to social intercourse with Indians and to the preservation of personal and national character in public service. So early as 1769 the Council of Calcutta issued instructions to the supervisors of districts, but they were not comprehensive enough. The more useful and exhaustive advice was given by the Wellesleys in their letters to officers, and the imagination of Colonel Malcolm created a book out of them, which contained the very best maxims for the rising young men. This book of Instructions was printed and distributed all over India for a generation from 1820 to 1845. It was only improved by Sir Henry Lawrence, but its merit is

directness of expression and courage of conviction, which offended only the great pro-consul Dalhousie.

A third manner was in regard to the relation with Indian states and princes. The most diplomatic method was suggested by Dewan Purnayya himself. It was he who asked for direct European Government during the first regency in the recent history of Mysore but the precedent was followed in Travancore, Nagpur and the Panjab with equal success. Colonel Wilks' report on the administration of Mysore was printed by the Bengal Government without his knowledge or consent, and bundles of the copy were sent to all subordinate governments (see 'Bombay Revenue Consultations, 12 June 1805,' *I.O.R.* 306, Vol. 47, p. 1580). But the question of political relation with the states was more directly talked by Colonel Sutherland who drew his inspiration obviously from Lord Hastings. The Colonel's book was printed and placed in the hands of every responsible officer and official under Government. It is to be particularly noted that upon this subject there was no help whatever from the Directors, who agreed with everybody and with none.

A fourth direction was in the copying down of famous Notes and Minutes. Sir John Shore made notes of Indian affairs which were printed as a book by a grateful generation after his death. Wellington's Opinions were selected from his writings and published similarly. Sir Thomas Munro's Minutes were available in manuscripts to every young man who served loyally under him, but Gleig made a few of the important Minutes more widely held by appendices to his *Life of Sir Thomas Munro.* All these were manuals of state craft. But soon there were Metcalfe Papers, Macaulay's Minutes, Bentinck's Regulations, etc., which served as indications of the alteration in the old outlook owing to the advent of liberalism in England.

The literary productions of the age constitute the fifth and final process of sustained self-effort. Three men of the service devoted themselves to historical research in this country, although every revenue official did something of the kind in

a less ostentatious manner. Orme, Elphinstone and Elliott were the prominent historians within the service before 1850, but the need for more was obviated by more regular writers like Mill. The newspapers of India were in this period in the hands of Englishmen practically circulating only among them. It should be said to their credit that excepting a few which enjoyed official sunshine the majority kept a vigilance over the acts and actions of Government in the British fashion and helped India to become a happier country than it was under the British before 1800. The purity of the Civil Service is as much due to regulations as to this expression of public opinion.

Attention should be drawn also to the sacrifice of personal comforts and home life by a great many of the statesmen of this period. Mr. O'Malley writes that 'owing to poor communications and the heavy expenses of voyages, men spent long periods of service in India, extending to 40, 50, or even 60 years, with few interruptions for leave'. The civil servant was an owner of a large stable, and on the eve of his circuit round his district sent the animals much in advance to enable him to go round in stages. He would rise early and also retire late at night and then he would mingle with the people freely and grant many favours on the occasions of his visits. It was all a voluntary sacrifice undertaken in a spirit of healthy rivalry with one another. If one should like to compare the work done according to regulations with that executed out of freewill, he cannot do better than place the pictures of Bengal and any other province side by side at any date before 1850 and judge for himself. This was so, because there was no training of a civilian worth its name from 1800 till 1850 but by self-help and sacrifice.

II

Sir Mark Cubbon owed a good deal of his training to his uncle, Col. Mark Wilks. His education in Man was not much as he came to India in his boyhood. His lot had been thrown here in the military service of the Company and occasions for refinement were few and far between. It was to his uncle that Sir Mark Cubbon owed all his education. Books on the

classics, contemporary philosophy, economics and modern literature were lent to Cubbon: his opinions were frequently tested with a view to create correctness and moderation of judgment in matters connected with events and individuals; he was warned of Scyllas and Charybdises, and he was very often made to feel happy in the position of a man who is not needy. At the same time Col. Wilks recommended his nephew to the officers of the army for promotion and improvement of prospects and warned the young man that he should conduct himself with dignity before them.

The following are extracts from the letters of Col. Wilks to Sir Mark Cubbon. There are nearly fifty letters, none of which has been published until now.

1. Conversation and Opinion

Mysore,
9th July 1804.

MY DEAR MARK,

Adverting to your late letter to me on the subject of the late transaction at Nuggur, I hope you are more guarded in your conversation and still more in your correspondence with others. Free opinions unfavourable to personal character are more apt than you imagine to be noticed in a way that it is injurious to their author. With regard to the opinions themselves, I recommend to you for some years to come to hold as a guard over forming very strong ones the general propositions:

1st That opinions are in their very nature fallible, and

2nd That it is more probable you should form an erroneous judgment than that an officer of high character should do a very foolish or a very criminal thing.

Even with these guards in forming your opinions, I would still most urgently recommend another general rule—*viz.*, to speak and to write freely when you have anything favourable to say. But when your opinion of a character is unfavourable to be silent.

You may believe me that an observance of these cautions will obviate more uneasiness and secure more real comfort and

satisfaction in your progress through life than all other prudential axioms put together.

You will never hear from me prudential motives merely as such placed in a very high rank. But those which I now suggest to you are direct corollaries from purest principles of morality.

Ever Yours,
M. Wilks.

2. The Classics

Seringapatam,
9th May 1807.

My Dear Mark,

*　　　*　　　*

The description you give of your own talents convince me that you possess powers which you do not suspect. The power of combining and deciding with accuracy is generally of slow growth. It is the ripe fruit of the very talents which you describe yourself to possess; and like every other fruit of human talent can only be matured by practice. That you have not yet much confidence in your own judgment is the best evidence of sound thinking. Your confidence will increase exactly as it ought to do. I advise you above all things not to allow your classical love to slip through: in Greek perhaps you had not made sufficient progress to hold your own with facility, and although the finest of all languages....you find it difficult to recover. With Latin this can scarcely be the case; the Roman authors furnish standard models of taste and elegance. They are useful through life because they give not only grace but substance to whatever they touch. Resolve to give even *two hours in the week* and you will not only recover but acquire.

I shall look for you with the *very first* of the cool weather.

Ever Yours,
M. Wilks.

3. Friends

(i) I sincerly mourn with you over the state of intellect in your vicinity. You will not suspect me of insincerity however you may assign my partiality in ranking your own understanding

in a very high class: and I am proportionately anxious that you should come into contact with kindred minds. (Mysoor, 22nd January 1805.)

(ii) I have discussed these points at greater length than would otherwise be necessary, if I were not desirous of guarding you against officious friends and the consequent office of becoming your own tormentor. There is an Eastern proverb which says that a foolish friend is more dangerous than a powerful enemy. The latter term seems, however, to me to be scarcely applicable to what can occur to a man of good intentions in the ordinary intercourses of life, always excepting those atrocious cases which are an exception to all rule. That many men may think averse, and some even better of me, than I deserve and act upon such opinions, I can comprehend; but that I have enemies who would seek to injure me without benefiting themselves is a fancy which has never yet entered into my mind. (Mysoor, 6th March 1806.)

4. Gambling

I am happy to hear that you keep, as I hope you always will keep, clear of the rage of gambling of every description; there are few so fortunate as to have escaped once in their lives a lesson more or less serious against that infatuation. Once pretty early in my career I had such a lesson. I possessed a few hundred Pagodas in cash and in horses. I lost to the last Pagoda that I could possibly pay, and had the firmness to resist the liberal offers of lending which assailed me from all sides of the table. It has been a most salutary lesson, and if young men would stop at the moral reflexion that it is not honest to borrow what they cannot pay, their practical lessons are always most permanent and although productive of much inconvenience will not lead to serious mischief. You will not imagine that I mean to hold out my own example for imitation in any other part than the last, that of pausing in all circumstances of life to consider what you are going to do in reference to your moral duties; as to the lesson, I fancy you will be more comfortable without it, and the life of a gambler, the most miserable as I believe in existence, has probably not many

charms for you or any man of sound thinking. (Mysoor, 9th November 1805.)

5. Relations between the European Troops and the Indian Citizens

Col. Munro is one of the ablest and most respectable of men, but he always appeared to me to have an erroneous view of the relations professed to be established in this country between the troops and the inhabitants. The habits which he has introduced into the Ceded Districts and on which judges seem to act are the consequences of a good principle carried to excess without reference to other good principles by which it ought to be regulated and restrained. It is a principle of the highest importance that our native subjects should have ample protection for their persons and property in all cases and among others against the excesses of the military, which (it cannot be denied) do sometimes occur. It is of equal importance that the troops and departments should be amply supplied with food and forage; and when considered in its proper view, it is of no slender moment that officers should habitually be treated with respect. The mistake is to suppose that these objects are incompatible with each other and to forget the fact that they reciprocally promote each other. An obliging conduct on the part of the Natives disposes the officer to protect them from injury and this protection disposes them to be obliging. A whole district takes its tone from the persons at its head, and it is certainly not very difficult to give such a tone. Officers on the other hand do not easily take it and never can when they are treated in the manner you describe. The cadet establishment has done a world of injury in this respect; the young men are surrounded by the refuse of the creation, and it requires a fund of good sense to break through these wretches. (Mysoor, 17th April 1808.)

6. Government

Nothing can be more indisputable than the right of the Government, under the clause regarding promotion, to stop promotion. It is the prerogative of the Commander-in-Chief to recommend to Government such measures as he thinks

proper relative to the army. But by a miserable quibbling on words to impute to him that he has assumed a power independent of the Government is nothing more nor less than an open libel on that Government declaring that they have permitted the head of the army to be guilty of high treason with impunity.

You will remember always that I am speaking of what powers and prerogatives are lawful, and not what I shall consider expedient and not also on the manner of doing what is expedient. These are speculative questions on which various opinions may prevail. On what is lawful and unlawful our opinions ought, if possible, to be fixed. (Mysoor, 28th August 1806.)

7. Personal Encouragement

(i) The surgeons of the army have as much right by law to promotion by seniority as the officers of the army. Mr. Surgeon Thompson has been repeatedly passed over when his promotion was his turn. The case of Thompson is supposed by many to be very hard but no man of sound knowledge ever considered it to be unlawful.

Occasions like the present are those in which a man of sound mind and sound principles has the opportunity of shewing what he is. Be temperate, mild and conciliatory in the defence of these principles, but be firm and immovable. (Mysoor, 25th August 1806.)

(ii) I was much amused by your account of men and things at Hyderabad. You appear to me to have estimated with precision and to have drawn with spirit the characters which you present. I am glad that the Resident has made your acquaintance and that you are likely to benefit by his society, for with the discrimination which you possess, it is great benefit to associate with a man of talents who has seen the world, who has certainly enough of literature in all its departments for all the purposes of life, and if less profound than he wishes to appear, gives to conversation a tone, which at least tends to instruction. It is very easy to get hold of so much of the surface of a subject as to be able to talk plausibly on it, and in that way the labour which is necessary for going to the bottom

of one, will give a superficial knowledge of a dozen. You seem to think that something of this nature has occurred in forming one of the characters which you describe, and I believe your judgment is not far removed from the state of the fact. You, I hope, will never indulge indolence in that way nor vanity in any way. I know nothing which so completely puts down even an impudent man, as to be arrested in declaiming on a subject which he pretends to understand, by a quiet modest person who with due deference and respect shews to every person present that the pretender is profoundly ignorant of all but the gilded surface of his declamation. (Mysoor, 2nd July 1808.)

(iii) The arrangements which you have determined for the future comfort of your father and mother and family do you the highest honor, and it only remains that you should continue steadily to put them into execution. I would not however recommend that you should irrevocably alienate so large a sum as you proposed. (St. Helena, 26th July 1813.)

8. The Vellore Mutiny

Before you receive this you will have learned from the orders, and from the circular instructions from Headquarters, the supposed causes of this horrible transaction. It is now decided that the orders for compelling the sepoys to wear the new turban and to obliterate the marks of caste are no more. There are certain fundamental principles connected with this question which it is no longer objectionable to discuss, at least for you and me to discuss, and as I think these principles of the first importance, although neither abstruse in themselves nor remote from ordinary apprehension, you will readily believe that I am anxious for your thinking soundly and clearly regarding them. You shall have my opinion if you desire it. But first imagine to yourself that they, the orders, were never issued : and then give me your opinion with regard to the expediency of issuing each of these rescinded orders. This is not a dissection of an idle theme at school, but of one that is to regulate the principles on which the whole of your professional life ought to be ounded. (Mysoor, 24th July 1806.)

SOME MORE SANSKRIT AND PRĀKṚT POETESSES

BY V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

ON p. 16, lines 1–3, of my article on Sanskrit and Prākṛt Poetesses in Vol. XXV, Nos. 1, 2 and 3, of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, I had mentioned four poetesses Gaurikā, Prakāśadattā, Muktāpīḍā and Mārṇgamālā and had said that nothing more of them was known. As a matter of fact, it is not possible to know anything of them, since they are non-existent. Aufrecht mentions Prakāśadattā as a poetess on I, p. 346*b* of his *Catalogus Catalogorum* as mentioned in the anthology, *Subhāṣitāvalī*. This is a wrong entry and is based on the wrong entry of Prakāśadattā, (with an 'ā' in the end), in Peterson's analysis of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* in his First Report on MSS. (p. 35). The correct name is Prakāśadatta, a poet and not a poetess. Similar is the case of the sex-transformation of Muktāpīḍā, which is really Muktāpīḍa, a poet, quoted in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* and the *Śārṅgadhara paddhati*, and by Kṣemendra in his *Aucitya-vicāra carcā* as Rājaputra Muktāpīḍa. The wrong entry as a woman occurs on p. 36 of Peterson's above-mentioned analysis and Aufrecht's *C.C.*, I., p. 459. Mārṅgamālā is another mistake. Peterson gives the name, Mārṇmālā on p. 36 of his analysis of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* and this is evidently a corruption of Mārulā, a poetess I have dealt with. The name Gaurikā sails on the same boat. Peterson's analysis gives it on p. 34, but his edition of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* has no such name. Aufrecht however omits this name. Similarly Kuntīdevī mentioned by Peterson (p. 34) and by Aufrecht (I, 109*b*) as mentioned in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* is not to be found there.[1]

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[1] All these really non-existent poetesses are mentioned also in the preface to the first edition of Gangādevī's *Madhurāvijaya* (p. 1, fn. 1), evidently on the authority of Peterson and Aufrecht.

Aufrecht has another poetess named Avilamba sarasvatī (*C.C.*, I, p. 34*a*) as mentioned in the anthology *Padyāvalī* (S. K. De's Edn., p. 177). S. K. De reads अविलम्बसरस्वत्याः । Some MSS. read अविलम्बसरस्वतीनाम् । The verse is an anuṣṭubh on Hari: यदुवंशवतंसाय वृन्दावनविहारिणे । संसारसागरोत्तारतरये हरये नमः ॥ 'Avilamba Sarasvatī' is the title of Mādhava, conferred on him by his pupil and patron, King Pratāpāditya. Mādhava was a near relation of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. (*Annals B.O.R.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 316–318.) Thus this also is not a woman writer.

Dr. M. Krishnamācārya, M.A., M.L., Ph.D., writing on Sanskrit Poetesses in the *Souvenir* of the Silver Jubilee of the Department for the publication of the Oriental MSS., Trivandrum, mentions a poetess named Kāmakoṭī or Abhirāma Kāmākṣī, daughter of Sabhāpati, son of Abhirāma of the Śrīvatsa gotra. He says of this poetess further that she was related to the Diṇḍimas, flourished about 1500 A.D. and that she wrote the Kāvya on Rāma's life in twenty-four Cantos, called *Abhinava Rāmābhyudaya*, a MS. of which is available in the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. This name is similar to some discussed above ; for this is a poet and not a poetess.

The MS. of the *Abhinava Rāmābhyudaya* is described under R. No. 3489, pp. 5202-5, of Vol. IV of the *Triennial Catalogues of the Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library.* In two verses extracted on p. 5204, the author of the poem refers to himself in the masculine gender. And further, if we turn to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 47, p. 79 *et seq.*, we find in the list of the composers of grants, given by Mr. T. Gopinatha Rao in his article on the Vibhāga patramālā, a *Kāmakoṭi* or *Kāmākṣi*, a *son* of *Abhirāma*, who was the son of Sabhāpati. (See page 81 also, *ibid.*) This poet is the author of the *Abhinava Rāmābhyudaya* and Kāmākṣi or Kāmakoṭi is not rare as a male-name.

Leaving the subject of fictitious poetesses, I wish to deal now with one Apabhraṁśa poetess, Āyiccāmbā by name, a Sanskrit poetess, Padmāvatī, and a woman writer on a religious subject, Bīnabāyī, who was a queen.

Āyiccāmbā

Āyiccāmbā was the wife of the Apabhraṁśa poet, Svayambhūdeva, who had the titles Kavicakravartin and Candaś-cūḍāmaṇi. He wrote in Apabhraṁśa the *Pauma caria*, *i.e.*, Padma carita on the life of Rāma according to the Jain version. Svayambhū's wife, Āyiccāmbā, is mentioned by him at the end of the 42nd Sandhi as having assisted her husband in the composing of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa. This information is to be found in Prof. Hirālal Jain's article on Svayambhū and his two poems in Apabhraṁśa in the *Nagpur University Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 71. Prof. Hirālal Jain assigns Svayambhū to the period between A.D. 700–783.

Bīnabāyī

Bīnabāyī is not exactly a poetess; for the work she has left to us is not a poem, but a religious treatise, dealing with the devotion to and the worship of the deity Kṛṣṇa. The work is called *Dvārakāpattala* and a MS. of it dated Samvat 1574 (A.D. 1518) is noticed by A. V. Kathwate, as no. 142 in his "Report on the Search for Skt. MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during 1891-95". Mr. Kathwate gives extracts from this MS. at the end of his Report, on p. 113, under the title

द्वारकापत्तलम्—बीनबायी
(रामानुज मतस्यायं ग्रन्थः).

The MS. is at present deposited in the MSS. Library of the B.O.R.I., Poona, and Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator, B.O.R.I., was kind enough to supply me with fuller extracts of the beginning and the end of this work. (No. 142 of 1891–95.)

In Vol. I of the *Catalogue of Mithilā MSS.*, there are works with a similar name, Gaṅgā pattala and Gayā pattala. And I am informed by Dr. A. Banerji Sastri of the Patna College and the B.C.R. Society, that 'Pattalaka' in Mithilā means approximately 'Māhātmya' (धार्मिक कार्यकलाप). Mr. Kathwate says that it is a work belonging to the Rāmānuja school and it is clearly a Vaiṣṇavite work on the worship of Kṛṣṇa. A verse at the end says that Bīnabāyī wrote it following the

Dvārakāmāhātmya which forms the final part of the Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa of the *Skāndapurāna* :

माहात्म्यस्यानुसारेण द्वारकाया इदं कृतम् ।
नानादरोऽत्र कर्तव्यो ग्राह्यं गुणिभिरादरात् ॥

The work is in four chapters and the fourth deals with Pūjā, etc.

पूजनादिविवेकोऽयं चतुर्थस्सम्मतः सताम् ।

The authoress describes herself as having learnt the Vedas, the Smṛtis and the eighteen Purāṇas. 'Her riches were there for the sake of the Brahmins; her hands were there for the worship of Viṣṇu; mind, for the meditation of Murāri; ears, for listening to the description of His stories; eyes, for seeing every day the form of the Lord and tongue to sing His praises.' (Śloka 5 in the beginning.) Two verses at the very end praise the authoress, Bīnabāyī, as the Ganges without its blemishes and as the all-giving Kalpaka tree on earth.

Bīnabāyī is not altogether silent about her father and husband. She says that she was the daughter of king Maṇḍalika of the Yādava dynasty and the queen Mahādevī, of Hara-simha of the Cāhuvāna line, who was the son of Vīrasimha and grandson of king Pratāpa, and who ruled at a Pāṭalipura on the banks of the Ganges. She says in the beginning :—

आसीद्यादववंशजः परिलसत्कीर्तिः प्रतापोन्नतो
मानी **मण्डलिकाभिधः** क्षितिपतिः सद्धर्मविद्याश्रयः ।
आसीन्निर्जितवीरवैरिनिचयः त्यागार्थकोशोद्यमो
योऽर्थिप्रार्थितदः कलाविह युगेऽगण्यैर्गुणैरन्वितः ॥
तस्य कन्या वदान्यासीद् **बीनबायी**ति विश्रुता ।
हरसिंहमहीपस्य वल्लभा पुण्यवल्लभा ॥
अष्टादश पुराणानि श्रुतान्येकाग्रचेतसा ।
यया श्रुतास्सश्रुतयः स्मृतयस्सकलाश्शुभाः ॥

* * *

तया विरच्यते नृणामुपकृत्यै महोदयम् ।
द्वारकापत्तलं बीनबाय्या पापप्रणाशनम् ॥

She says at the end of the work :—

कृतपूजनसद्दानमानया श्रद्धया कृते ।
मण्डलीकमहीपस्य कन्यया बहुमान्यया ॥
हरसिंहमहादेव्या द्वारकापत्तले शुभे ।
पूजनादिविवेकोऽयं चतुर्थस्संमतः सताम् ॥
यः श्रीमानजनि प्रतापनृपतेः श्रीवीरसिंहस्सुतः
तस्यासीद्युधि सञ्जितारिनिचयो दत्तार्थिदानस्सुतः ।
गङ्गातीर पवित्र पाटलिपुरस्याधीश्वरो वैष्णवो
ज्ञाता श्रीहरसिंहदेवनृपतिर्यश्चाहुवानान्वयः ॥
इदं तस्य महादेव्या बीनबाय्या महोदयम् ।
कृतं सुकृतिनां प्रीत्यै मण्डलीकस्य कन्यया ॥
द्वारकापत्तलं श्रेष्ठं कण्ठेषु वसतात्सताम् ।
पुण्योत्साहप्रदं पापनाशनं कण्ठभूषणम् ॥

The identification of these kings has not been possible. The case of the father of Bīnabāyī, Maṇḍalika of the Yādava dynasty, is slightly better than that of Harasimha of the Cāhuvāna line of Pāṭalipura on the Ganges, son of Vīrasimha and grandson of Pratāpa. The place Pāṭalipura on the Ganges is itself a problem. No North Indian inscription so far known mentions such a king. But a Yādava Maṇḍalika, we do meet with in North Indian inscriptions. In the list of North Indian inscriptions given by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar as Appendix to Vol. XX of the *Epi. Ind.*, we have five inscriptions mentioning a dynasty known as the Yādava Cūḍāsamās in which we come across three Maṇḍalikas, the First, the Second and the Third. No. 751 is an inscription dated Vikrama 1473 at Girnar belonging to the time of the Yādava Cūḍāsamā chief Jayasimha II. This inscription gives the following genealogy: Yadu > Maṇḍalika I who conquered Mudgala > Mahīpāla > Khaṅgāra > Jayasimha I > Muktasimha > two sons, Maṇḍalika II and Meliga > Meliga's son Jayasimha II who defeated a Yavana force near Jhimjarakoṭa. No. 805 is an inscription from Junāgaḍh (Girnar), dated Vikrama 1507, in the time of the Yādava Cūḍāsamā Maṇḍalika III. No. 867 also relates to this Maṇḍalika III. It is dated Vikrama 1554 and is from

Jawar (Udaipur, Rajputana) and records the benefactions of Rāmābaī, wife of the Yādava Cūḍāsamā Mahārāya Maṇḍalika of Soratha, and daughter of Mahārāṇa Kumbhakarṇa of Mewar. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says here in a footnote that the Maṇḍalika of this inscription is undoubtedly Maṇḍalika III whose known inscriptions are dated Vikrama 1507, 1512 and 1525. No. 1719 from Girnar is an undated fragment of the time of Yādava Cūḍāsamā Maṇḍalika II, giving the following line of kings:

Maṇḍalika I > his son Navaghana > his son Mahīpāla > Khaṅgārā > Jayasimha > Mokalasimha > Melaga > Mahīpāla II > his son Maṇḍalika II (III). A fifth inscription is No. 1865 which mentions one Jagatsimha as having defeated a king named Maṇḍalika. This is not dated. It is likely that one of the abovementioned Maṇḍalika's was the father of our authoress Bīnabāyī. Does her husband, Cāhuvāna Harasimha, belong to the line of Baijaladeva of Patna State? (*I.H.Q.*, XII, pp. 485-7; *Proc. VI Ori. Conf.*, pp. 43-49 and *J.B.O.R.S.*, XX, pp. 140-6.)[2]

Padmāvatī

Dr. Aufrecht mentions a poetess named Padmāvatī on p. 323*b* of his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, and says that one verse of hers is found quoted in the Pmt., *i.e.*, the anthology *Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī* of Haribhāskara, who wrote his *Setu* on the *Vṛttaratnākara* at Benares in A.D. 1676. (Aufrecht, I, p. 759*a*.) In his notice of a MS. of the *Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī* in the India Office Library, Dr. A. B. Keith gives a list of the authors whose verses are extracted in this anthology (pp. 1157*b* and 1158*a*, I.O. Catalogue II) and here also we find Padmāvatī mentioned. An incomplete copy of this anthology being available in the MSS. Library of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (No. 376 of 1884–87), I wrote to Mr. P. K. Gode, the Curator, B.O.R.I., Poona, and he kindly supplied

[2] For some other poetesses, mediæval and modern, see the previously mentioned article of Dr. M. Krishnamācarya. For Lakṣmī devī Ṭhakurāṇī and her verses, see Sir G. Grierson's Notes on her in the *Ind. Ant.*, XV, 1886, pp. 318–9; 348*b*.

me with the verse of Padmāvatī extracted in the *Podyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī*. The verse, an Anuṣṭubh, is a description, in Utprekṣā, of the nose.

" No. 376 of 1884–87, fol. 4*b* : नासिका—

" दन्तालिदाडिमीबीज भक्षणोत्कण्ठ चेतसः ।

मन्ये मारशुकस्येयं नासा चञ्चुर्विराजते ॥ ६२ ॥ "

—पद्मावत्याः । "

While supplying me with this verse, Mr. Gode was kind enough to inform me that there were verses ascribed to this poetess, Padmāvatī, in the anthology called *Padyaveṇī* by Veṇīdatta. This Veṇīdatta is the son of Jagajjīvana and grandson of Nīlakaṇṭha, and has written, besides, a Vāsudeva Carita (India Office, 3877), and a lexicon, *Pañcatattva prakāśa.* This last work, a MS. of which is described by Rajendralal Mitra (Notices, 1436) was written by Veṇīdatta in A.D. 1644. (Aufrecht, I, p. 314*a*[3] ; I. O. Eggeling, p. 1416*a*). Only one MS. of the *Padyaveṇī* is now known and it is in the MSS. Library of the B.O.R.I., Poona. The verses ascribed to Padmāvatī in this anthology were collected by Mr. M. M. Patkar, B.A., Cataloguing Assistant to Mr. P. K. Gode, and the latter kindly sent me all those verses. I give them here :

1. fol. 6_a.

हर(रि)ण्यस्त्वरण्येऽग्रगण्यं शरण्यं

नृपाणां यमालोक्य लोलाक्षिगे(गो)लाः ।

करे चारुचापं गले नीलवा(भा)सं

मृगानुव्रजन्तं (मृगानुव्रजं तं) स्मरं(हरं) भावयन्ति ॥ ५३ ॥[4]

Cf. मृगानुसारिणं साक्षात्पश्यामीव पिनाकिनम् । *Śākuntala*, I. 6.

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[3] See also Aufrecht, I, pp. 603*a* and 791*b*. On Hall's reference to the *Padyaveṇī* in his Preface to his edition of the Vāsavadattā (p. 48), see p. 13 of Gray's Introduction to his edition of the Vāsavadattā in the *Indo-Iranian Series*, Columbia University.

[4] There are many mistakes in the verses as found in the MS. and I have suggested emendations which are given in brackets.

2. fol. 12*b*. अथ हयः ॥

वारितः[5] प्रस्फुरत्येव समुदञ्चितकेसरः ।
अत्यन्तं भ्रमरी(रा)कीर्णो वाजी राजीवसन्निभः ॥ १२१ ॥

Here a horse is described as resembling a lotus, through śleṣa. वारितः = obstructed; from the water. भ्रमर = bee; curl in the hair (?). Āvarta or Bhrama, ten in number and in several parts in the hair on the body of a horse, is a sign of excellence. See *Śiśupālavadha*, V. 4.—आवर्तिनः etc., and Mallinātha thereon.

3. fol. 19*b*. अथ कण्ठः ॥

न भाति कण्ठः किमु कामभूपतेः
विभाजि(ति) जैत्रं(त्रः) किल कम्बुरेव ।
अद्यापि संभाति यतस्तदीया
रेखामिषादङ्गुलियन्त्रणेयम् ॥ २११ ॥

The throat is here conceived as the conch of cupid with which he blew his victory. The three lines on the throat are the impressions of Cupid's fingers when he held the conch for blowing it.

4. fol. 20*b*. अथ नासा ॥

दन्तालि दाडिमीबीज भक्षणोत्कण्ठितात्मनः ।
मन्ये मारशुकस्येयं नासा चञ्चुर्विराजते ॥ २२० ॥

In the citation in the *Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī* (see above), the second quarter reads भक्षणोत्कण्ठचेतसः ।

5. fol. 21*b*. अथ तिलकम् ॥

कस्तूरीतिलकं तस्या जनयति शोभां भ्रुवोरन्तः ।
कोदण्डमध्यलग्नं फलमिव पञ्चेषुबाणस्य ॥ २३७ ॥

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[5] This śleṣa-effect of 'Vāritaḥ' is lifted by the poetess from a verse of Gobhaṭṭa, ascribed to him in the *Sūktimuktāvalī* of Jalhana :—

अपूर्वः कोऽपि कोपाग्निः सज्जनस्य खलस्य च ।
एकस्य शाम्यते स्नेहात् वर्धतेऽन्यस्य वारितः ॥ p. 80, Madras MS.

On Gobhaṭṭa and an instance of the more complete theft by Pādmāvatī of idea and expression from Gobhaṭṭa, see below.

फल here means arrow-head. This is a shorter Tilaka resembling an arrow-head; and an anonymous verse with a similar idea is found in Vallabhadeva, *Subhāṣitāvalī*, 1488, where it is the long streak-like Tilaka which is compared to the whole arrow: भाले तिलकलेखेयं बाले भल्लीव राजते । भ्रूलताचापमाकृष्य न जाने कं हनिष्यसि ॥

6. fol. 22*b*. अथ कचाः ॥

किं चारुचन्दनलताकलिता भुजङ्गयः
किं पत्र (फुल्ल?) पद्ममधुसंवलिता नु भ(भृ)ङ्गयः ।
किं वाननेन्दुजित राकंदु [राहु][6] रुचो विषाल्यः(?)
किं भाति(न्ति) गुर्जरवरप्रमदाकचाल्यः ॥ २५१ ॥

7. fol 23*a*. (अथ मुखम् ॥)

तव रुचिरमुखेन्दोः कान्तिपीयूषधारां
चतुरतरचकोरीचक्रमास्वाद्य सद्यः ।
अनुगतबहुमाध्वीचञ्चुजाड्यापनुत्यै
कलयति शशिबिम्बे काञ्जिकभ्रान्तिमेतत् ॥ २५७ ॥

Kānjika = sour gruel. When, having taken too much sweet, one's taste is made stale, he resorts to something sour or hot to restore his relish for the sweet. Here the face is described as the nectar for the Cakoras and the moon as the sour gruel.

8. fol. 19*b*. अथ बाहू ॥[7]

किं शृङ्गारसमुद्रकल्पलतिके किं वा मृणालीलते
किं वक्षोजमहीध्रचन्दनलते किं मारयाशीलते(?) ।
किं लावण्यसुधाब्धिविद्रुमलते पत्राङ्गुलीसंयुते
भातः किं कलगुर्जरीसुललिते(?) बाहूलते मन्मते ॥

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[6] Emendations in square brackets are those suggested by Mr. M. M. Patkar.

[7] Mr. M. M. Patkar says here, "This verse is noted by F. E. Hall in his article "Two Samskrit Inscriptions" published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, 1860, p. 524 and that Hall reads in line four कङ्गटगुर्जरी for किं कलगुर्जरी. This bit in both readings, as well as the last bit in line two, both marked with a query by me, are unintelligible.

9. fol. 43*a*.

प्रभातवेलास्मर (सुर) राजपुत्री
नीराजनाभाजतमर्कबिम्बम् ।
आयाति नीराजितुमब्धिपुत्रीं
पाणौ गृहीत्वाऽङ्कुरितांशुभा(जा?)लम् ॥ ४३ ॥

This is a description of dawn and Sunrise. 'Smara' in line one may be 'sura' for Prabhātavelā may be said to be the daughter of Surarāja, Indra, and the eastern quarter of which he is the lord. Nīrājanā, feminine, seems to be of doubtful accuracy. Abdhiputrī = Lakṣmī.

10. fol. 48*a*.

त्रिलोकीजयप्रस्थितस्याऽऽत्मयोनेः
लसत्कुङ्कुमात्रेय (माराात्रि) पात्रं दधाना ।
स्फुरत्कान्तिताराक्षतान् भावयन्ती
पुरन्ध्री निशा पा(भा)ति तन्मङ्गलाया ॥ १०१ ॥

This is a description of the night at moonrise. The red plate-like moon is conceived as the saffron-filled plate in which the auspicious light is waved before kings starting out on victory-expeditions. The Upameya, moon, is however suppressed and only the Upamāna is here given, *viz.*, the plate for waving the light, Ārātrika pātra. Ātreya pātra is evidently a mistake. The dot-like stars look like the auspicious rice-grains scattered on the occasion. A word more definite in meaning than 'Bhāvayantī', in line three, would be better. Tan-maṅgala-ayā : *Ayaś śubhāvaho vidhiḥ*.

11. fol. 52*b*.

तुषाराकरा (fol. 53*a*) क्लेशितामुष्णरोचिः
समाज्ञाय जायां प्रियां पद्मिनीं च ।
सखायं निजं ग्रीष्मकालं विधाय
ज्वलज्ज्योतिरुद्योततेजज्जयैषी ॥
(रद्योततैतज्जयैषी) ॥ ४ ॥

It is not quite correct to mention the summer after the winter ; it is spring that follows ; the poetess might have meant to include spring in summer because both are hot.

13. fol. 53*a*.

धूलीकर्करिणः (?) प्रचण्डतपनज्वालालिमालाधराः (?)
स्पर्शादेव सरिज्जलं तरुदलं संशोषयन्तः क्षणात् ।
पीतोन्मुक्तफणीशफूत्कृति विषज्वालालियुक्ता इव
स्वच्छन्दं परितो भ्रमन्ति बहुशो ग्रीष्मस्य वाता अमी ॥

The very ideas in the first line of this description of the hot summer winds are not clear enough to enable us to suggest emendations.

13. fol. 54*b*.

नायं गर्जः किमुत मदनप्रौढनिस्साणशब्दो
नैते मेघाः किमुत मदनस्योध्दुराः सिन्धुरास्ते ।
नैषा विद्युत् किमुत जयिनी तत्करे कापि शक्तिः
ने(नै)न्द्रश्चापः किमुत जगतां मोहनास्त्रं स्मरस्य ॥ ४ ॥

This is a description of the rains.

14. fol. 59*a*.

मा काक कोकिलशतानुगत प्रसर्प्य(र्पि-)
दर्पावमत्य खगराजमितो व्रजेथाः ।
ज्ञास्यन्ति चेत् करटकं तु भवन्तमेते
हास्यन्ति कर्करवदुज्ज्वलरत्नसङ्घात् ॥ २ ॥

This is an Anyāpadeśa on the crow. Karkara is stone.

15. fol. 60*a*.

मान्योऽसि मानमञ्जुल सिंह मृगेन्द्र प्रचण्डभुजदण्ड ।
यः प्रौढदिग्गजोद्भवपललरतो हंसि नो हरिणात्(न्) ॥ ४ ॥

Another Anyāpadeśa, on the lion.

16. fol. 64*b*.

कोषे निषण्णस्य व वद्ध (च बद्ध) मुष्टे (ष्टेः)
मलिम्लुचाकारविभीषणस्य ।
आकारतः केवलमस्ति भेदः
कृपाणकस्यापि धनानकस्य[8] ॥ ४ ॥

This is a similarity instituted between the sword and the miser (Dhanānaka)[8] and is an unsuccessful recast of an older

[8] Dhanāyaka' is the correct word. The substitution of the word Kṛpaṇa by anyother word would take all the point out of the expression 'आकारतः केवलमस्ति भेदः' Ākāra = form and the vowel Ā.

verse, more happy and neat in expression, which other older anthologies give as a verse of one Gobhaṭa or Gobhaṭṭa or Gopabhaṭṭa. The verse is :

दृढतरनिबद्ध (गाढतरबद्ध) मुष्टेः कोषनिषण्णस्य सहजमलिनस्य ।
कृपणस्य कृपाणस्य च केवलमाकारतो भेदः ॥

Śārṅgadhara, ZDMG xxvii. p. 24, Sadukti karṇāmṛta, (H. D. Sharma's Edn.), p. 305. *Jalhaṇasūktimuktāvalī*, p. 87, Madras MS. On pp. 63 and 87 of the Madras MS., Jalhana's anthology gives this poet as Sūcīgobhaṭṭa. On Gobhaṭa, see Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, 164*a*. If this poet's date could be known, we can fix the early limit to Padmāvatī's date.

17. fol. 65*b*.

स्वभावसिद्धं वक्रत्वं खलस्य च हलस्य च ।
मुखाक्षेपं तयोस्सीदु मंल मेकैव साक्षसा(?) ॥ ५ ॥

The second half is very corrupt.

18. fol. 69*a*.

कुष्ठी विष्ठानुलिप्तः कृमिकुलकलितः पूयपूराभियुक्तः
संयुक्तो मक्षिकाभिः करधृतविसरान्निम्बशाखोग्रगन्धः ।
व्यानुग्रोच्छो(?)त्थनासः स्रवदरुणगलत्पाणिपादः समन्तात्
निष्ठीवल्लोकदृष्टः कलयति मनुजः कोऽपिदुष्कर्म भोजम् ॥ ४ ॥

The idea here is not clear.

19. fol. 75*a*.

व(ध)नञ्जयससुद्भूतः सुभद्रोत्साहवर्धनः ।
अभिमन्युवदाभाति दीपः कृष्णपुरस्सरः ॥ २ ॥

CENSUS CONTRIBUTION TO THE RACIAL ANALYSIS OF INDIA: A VALUATION

By G. S. Ghurye, Ph.D. (Cantab.)

The use of anthropometric technique was made by Sir Herbert Risley, primarily, for elucidating the connection between race and caste, and, secondarily, for determining the racial constitution of India. Various defects in the use of anthropometric measurements taken on a number of Indian castes at Risley's instance have been pointed out by many students of this Indian problem. Similarly, attention has been drawn to serious lacunæ in the material, as well as, certain defects in measurements on some of the castes. Further, it has been pointed out that crudeness of measurement of most of the Dravidian castes and the lack of individual measurements of many of them have been an obstacle to a comprehensive comparison of all the castes measured.[1] All students of the Indian problem of caste and race were, therefore, glad when it was known that a fresh anthropometric survey intended to fill up the gaps in our knowledge of the ethnic constitution of India was undertaken in connection with the Census of 1931. Now that the results of this survey have been available to us for some time past,* it is desirable that a critical survey of the report be made with a view to seeing how far the intentions of the Superintendent of the Census, and the anticipations of scholars are fulfilled.

It is seen from the volumes of Risley's anthropometric survey that (1) very few castes from Gujarat and Kathiawar were measured; (2) no caste from Central India proper was measured; (3) no caste from the political division of C.P. and Berar was measured, though a number of Marathi castes from

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[1] Crooke in Risley's *The People of India* (ed. 1916), and Ghurye in "Ethnic Theory of Caste," *Man in India*, 1924.

* *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part III, by B. S. Guha.

the Bombay Presidency and a number of Hindustani castes from the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh were measured; (4) no measurements were taken on any of the Brahmin communities from the Telugu region. Dr. Guha's survey provides us with (1) measurements on three Gujarati castes not covered by Risley's survey, (2) measurements on three Central Indian castes, (3) measurements on Telugu Brahmins without further distinction of sub-caste. Further, the measurements on all the castes are not only refined, but their averages and standard deviations in the case of all the castes measured excepting three, *viz.*, Kunbi-Patidar, Bhil and Kadar, are given, thus facilitating their comparison. Dr. Guha does not, however, give us any reason why he has dropped the averages, etc., of the measurements on the three castes mentioned above from his tables. Similarly, he does not tell us why, firstly, he did not, in the case of the Tamil, the Kanarese and the Telugu Brahmins, take the measurements according to their sub-castes,—really speaking they are the real castes as they form the basic unit of endogamy— ; and secondly, why in the case of the U.P. Brahmins, though measurements were taken by him on their three sub-castes or endogamous groups in his tables they are presented as a composite whole. Similar difficulties can also be raised in the case of the Nagar and Malve and the Bengali Brahmins. An explanation is particularly needed because in the case of Gujarat and Maharashtra, Dr. Guha not only measured individuals from these Brahmin castes with reference to their endogamous group, but also presented the measurements taken in respect of these separate endogamous units, and also because, it is very well known, as a result, both of the observations of trained eyes as well as of the available measurements of separate endogamous groups of some of the Brahmin communities, that there are not infrequently marked differences between one endogamous group of Brahmins and another belonging to the same region. His Kanarese Non-Brahmins are similarly a composite group formed of Banajiga, Devanga and Vakkaliga. For adopting this procedure the reason given by Dr. Guha, *viz.*, that no single caste in the Kanarase region can,

with certainty, be placed as next to the Brahmin, is not strong enough to group together castes which are really diverse. Vakkaligas are really peasants, while Banajigas are traders but of the same stock as the peasantry; and the Devangas are weavers, lower in social positions than some other sections of weavers.[2]

No measurements were taken on any of the Punjab and Bihar castes. The importance of the Punjab from the ethnic point of view is very well known, in so far as, since Risley's time the Punjabi is looked up to as representing more or less the Indo-Aryan type in its purity. Hoernle and Grierson's theories about the linguistic affinities within the group of Indo-Aryan languages making Bihari a tongue of intermediate affinities with the inlandic and the outlandic group of languages render Bihari castes of particular significance in the discussion of racial affinities of the Bengali castes. The cultural history of Bihar, too, since very early times, has led to its being looked upon as an outlandish tract by the orthodox inlandic people—thus pointing in the same direction.

From the U.P. Dr. Guha measured only the Brahmin group. Every now and then, in a discussion of the ethnic affinities of Indian peoples, whatever the statistical formula we may adopt, reference has to be made to the relative arithmetic values of the coefficient between castes from other regions of India and the Brahmins of the U.P. To understand the proper significance of such values of coefficients between the U.P. Brahmins and any other Indian caste, it is clear, we must know the value of such coefficients between the U.P. Brahmins and some other castes of the U.P. themselves, particularly those which are next below the Brahmins, and those which are, more or less, on the lowest rung of the social ladder. Without the help of such coefficients interpretation of the values of other co-efficients is almost valueless. It will be seen from Dr. Guha's tables of values for R.C.R.L., that they may range from 0·20 to 213·90. If a particular caste of Brahmins in

[2] A. Baines, *Indian Ethnography*, pp. 36, 53, 64.

a particular region has such a low value for R.C.R.L. as say, 0·50 with another caste of the same region and next to it in its social status, and say, 6·50 or so with a caste of the same region, but very much lower down in social precedence, and if this caste (of Brahmins) were to have a value of, say 6·00 for its R.C.R.L. with the U.P. Brahmins, the degree of racial likeness that we should posit between the two Brahmins will, very largely, depend on the values of R.C.R.L. between the U.P. Brahmins and other lower castes of the U.P. If these values are, say, more than 6·00, racial affinity between the U.P. Brahmins, and the above Brahmins, can clearly be taken to be established, but if, on the other hand, these values are as low as say, 0·50 to 2·00, then surely racial affinity is not clearly established.

For Maharashtra, Kannada and Telangana, Dr. Guha has not measured any caste which stands in the respective regions, in a similar position as, *e.g.*, the Kalla in the Tamil region, or the Pod in Bengal. He has criticised Thurston's selection of Telugu castes and has contended that the measurements given by Thurston of these castes are not typical of Telangana. He has pointed out that some of these castes like Kāpu and Balija must have been mixed with Kanarese castes owing to Lingayatism. Reddies, he is not prepared to look upon as a Telangana caste because he believes on etymological and other grounds that they are the same as Marathas.[3] As regards this last argument it must be pointed out that the Reddies are one of the largest agricultural communities of Telangana, and that as we want to determine the racial type of the people of Telangana as a whole, and not merely to seek the existence of a particular type in Telangana, it is clear that the type of the Reddi, even if he be proved to be racially connected with the Marathas from historical sources, is surely a Telangana type. If it should be proved from anthropometric measurements that the physical type of the Reddi is similar to the physical type of the Marathas it would mean that the basic physical

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[3] Baines, *Op. cit.*, pp. XXXIII and XXXIV.

type of Telangana is like the basic physical type of Maharashtra—Mesaticephalic. As for his attempt to discredit Thurston's measurements on the grounds of Kanarese mixture due to Lingayatism, it must be mentioned that the Lingayat movement on the whole is 'almost exclusively Kanarese in its extent'.[4] The principal agricultural communities of Telangana are Kāpu or Reddi, the Kamma, and the Telaga 'all of which much resemble each other and come probably from the stock;'[5] and the largest trading community is the Balija.[6] None of these castes are represented in the physical survey of Dr. Guha. Therefore, it is clear that his typical representatives of Telugu can only be accepted with a good deal of reserve.

As Dr. Guha has taken exception to Thurston's measurements on the Telugu castes because they were taken on the Telugus in Bellary, a district in which mixture with the Kanarese castes is likely to have taken place, he should have seen that his subjects for the respective regions should have been chosen from districts which are farthest away from other contiguous linguistic areas. Thus, for Tamils, instead of Madura, which is contiguous to Travancore, he should have fixed upon Tanjore, and in the case of the Telugus, Nellore, instead of Hyderabad, and Vizagapatam. Madura is one of those Tamil districts where people speaking Telugu as their mother-tongue consitute over 15 per cent. of the population.[7] If in Bellary Telugus are likely to be mixed with the Kanarese, in Vizagapatam they are likely to be mixed with another strain. Further, I think that his selection of the Komatis as the typical trading caste of Telangana is not very happy. About them Thurston observes,[8] "the Komatis form the great trading caste of the Madras Presidency, and are found in almost all the districts thereof.

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[4] Baines, *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[7] *Madras Census Report*, 1931, Map op., pp. 286 and 289.

[8] Thurston, *Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. III, p. 306.

They are further found in the Mysore State, Bombay Presidency, Berar, Central Provinces, and as far northwest as Baroda."

One is constrained to conclude, therefore, that, on the whole, Dr. Guha's selection of groups for taking physical measurements is not such as is calculated to give us a scientific basis for the determination of racial affinities of the various peoples of India.

Dr. Guha's treatment of his figures may be divided into three sections: (*a*) First, he deals with, mainly, the relative affinities of the different castes of each linguistic region, pointing out, *inter alia*, any remarkable affinities outside the region; (*b*) Second, he groups together a number of castes belonging to each linguistic region, and, on this basis, compares the different linguistic regions *inter se*; (3) Third, he compares the various castes of India measured by him with one another with a view to deducing the various racial strains that have gone into the composition of the Indian peoples.

Let us examine the method followed and the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Guha in the first section. To begin with, take the United Provinces. I have already pointed out that Dr. Guha did not take measurements on any other caste but the Brahmins in this region. For comparison in this area, therefore, he has to depend on measurements taken by others. He finds that the value for R.C.R.L. between the U.P. Brahmins measured by him and the Sikhs measured by Eickstedt is 14·79, *i.e.*, such as to indicate no relationship between the two peoples. But attempting to establish some racial affinities between the Sikhs and the U.P. Brahmins, he puts forward an explanation and an argument. The explanation consists in an appeal to 'personal equation', and the fact of the selected nature of the Sikhs. The argument is worthwhile quoting. "This view is strengthened by a comparison of the values of the Reduced C.R.L. between the U.P. Brahmins, and the Pathans and the Red-Kaffirs measured by me for which the figures obtained are 10·62 ± 0·34, and 11·64 ± 0·27, respectively. If the value of the C.R.L. can be so low with the two Frontier tribes, it stands to reason that they would have been

far smaller with the neighbouring Sikhs who show a co-efficient of 9·59 ± 0·42 with the Pathans (Table IX)."[9] This argument is vitiated by Dr. Guha's own data. There is no reason why, because one caste gives a low value of R.C.R.L. with another caste, which again gives, more or less, a similar value for R.C.R.L. with a third caste, that the first caste should give a low value for R.C.R.L. with the third. A number of instances can be quoted from Dr. Guha's own data: Thus, (1) the R.C.R.L. between the Sāraswat Brahmin and the Kanarese Brahmin is 1·20, and that between the Sāraswat Brahmin and the Tamil Brahmin is 1·32, and yet between the Kanarese Brahmin and the Tamil Brahmin, it is 4·72;

(2) the R.C.R.L. between Sāraswat Brahmins and Orissa Brahmins is 8·11, that between the Sāraswat Brahmin and the Bengal Brahmin is 11·16, yet that between the Orissa Brahmin and the Bengal Brahmin, is above 14;

(3) the R.C.R.L. between the Bania-Jain and the Chitpavan Brahmins is 9·53, that between the Rajput and the Chitpavan Brahmin is 5·45, and yet that between the Bania-Jain and the Rajput is over 14;

(4) the R.C.R.L. between the Bengal Kāyastha and the Tamil Brahmin is 8·34, that between Bengali Pod and the Tamil Brahmin is 8·28, and yet that between the Bengal Kāyastha and Bengali Pod, two most neighbourly communities, is over 14;

(5) the R.C.R.L. between the Bengal Brahmin and the Kanarese Brahmin is 11·92 and that between Orissa Brahmin and Kanarese Brahmin is 11·86 and yet that between Bengal Brahmin and Orissa Brahmin is 23·59. The fact is that Dr. Guha has no materials on which to base a scientific comparison between the Punjab castes and the U.P. castes.

Commenting on the figures for Gujarat castes and finding that the Kunbi-Patidar, the main and basic bulk of Gujarat population, being the dominating agricultural community of the province, give a value for R.C.R.L. with only one caste of

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[9] P. XXIV.

Gujarat which is such as to show only 'association,' *viz.*, 11·65, with the Audich Brahmins, he observes,[10] "according to their chronicles the Kunbis migrated in a body from Gujrat in the eleventh century. They migrated to Southern Malva as a result of the pressure from the Rajput tribes, and it is possible that this agricultural community had originally a different racial substratum from the other people of Gujrat." And, even with this observation, he does not give us the values for R.C.R.L. between them and the castes of Central India measured by him, which would have enabled us to judge whether the Kunbi-Patidars, in spite of their chronicles, have any racial affinity with the peoples of Central India amongst whom they are supposed to have settled down from Gujarat. Though, this phenomenon of a non-Brahmin caste showing almost no association with the Brahmin castes of its region is rather very peculiar, as values for R.C.R.L. given by Dr. Guha for other regions will show, it has failed to receive the attention that it deserves. Further, it must be noted that the little association that the Kunbi-Patidar shows with only one Brahmin community of Gujarat is with the Audich Brahmins; and Dr. Guha himself mentions the popular belief that the latter have migrated to Gujarat from the north, and also explains their closer affinity with some of the Central Indian castes as being due to this, their supposed northern origin. Of all the Gujarat castes, it will be seen from Table XV presented by Dr. Guha, that the Audich Brahmin shows the closest association—within the first degree of association according to Dr. Guha's rating—with the castes of Maharashtra. The Kunbi-Patidars show the lowest of values of their R.C.R.L.'s with the Chitpavan Brahmins of Maharashtra—6·63—which is within the second degree of association. With three other Maharashtra castes their R.C.R.L.'s have values which are more than 7 but less than 10, *i.e.*, are such as to show the third degree of association. And, yet, Dr. Guha has no comment to offer. Indeed, it seems this phenomenon has quite escaped him.

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[10] P. XXVIII.

Commenting on the smaller value of the R.C.R.L. between the Rajputs and the Audich Brahmins than that between the latter and the Malve Brahmins, Dr. Guha ascribes it to the fact, that both the Audich and the Rajputs have absorbed a strain of brachycephaly while the Malve Brahmins have not. Similarly, in his attempt to explain the smaller value of this coefficient between the Rajputs and the two Gujarat castes of the Bania-Jain and the Kathi than those between these latter and the Malve Brahmins, he employs the absence of the brachycephalic strain in the Malve Brahmins to account for the difference.

He says, " The values of the R.C.R.L. are lower between the Bania-Jain and the Rajputs, and the Kathi and Rajputs than those of other Central Indian castes with the Gujaratis. The reason being the same, namely, the absence of the brachycephalic strain in Central India, except slightly among the Rajputs, which associates them with the people of Gujarat to a small extent."[11] While devising this explanation, he forgets that he has also to explain why the same 'brachycephalic' Rajputs do not show even such values of the R.C.R.L. with Nagar Brahmin and Audich Brahmin, while they show much smaller values of the coefficient with some castes of Maharashtra.

Let us see the facts as they are revealed to us in Table XXII, where are presented the values of this coefficient for various castes throughout India. Leaving aside the Bengal castes and, particularly, the Bengali Pods—their case, to judge by the values, appears to be quite peculiar as they show fairly close affinity with all sorts of castes outside Bengal but rather remote with the other Bengal castes—there are seven castes besides those of Gujarat which are brachycephalic or mesaticephalic, *viz.*, the Orissa Brahmin, the Chitpavan Brahmin, the Desastha Brahmin, the Sāraswat-Gour Brahmin, the Maratha, the Kanarese Brahmin and the Tamil Brahmin. The values of the R.C.R.L. between the Malve Brahmins and these castes

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[11] P. XXVII.

are respectively: 13·69, 5·27, 7·82, 11·76, 7·54, 14·66 and 20·06, while those between the Rajputs and these castes are: 14·06, 5·45, 8·02, 8·78, 7·80, 12·48 and 13·29. Thus, of the seven castes with a brachycephalic strain, four show closer affinity with the Malve Brahmins than with the Rajputs while three with the latter than with the former. Beginning with the U.P. Brahmin we have in the table, six dolichocephalic castes, leaving the frontier and the tribal castes: the U.P. Brahmin, the Nambūdri Brahmin, the Iluva, the Tamil Kalla, the Telugu Brahmin and the Nair. The values of the co-efficient between the Malve Brahmin and these castes are: 11·46, 18·28, 10·60, 7·22, 6·44 and 12·97. The same between the Rajput and the other castes are: 8·21, 14·93, 15·91, 7·95, 5·96 and 8·40. It is seen from these figures that the Rajputs have closer association with four of the six dolicho-cephalic castes and the Malve Brahmins with the remaining. Considered from the point of presence of dolichocephaly or from the point of the absence of brachycephaly, the Rajputs score over the Malve Brahmins, and thus, must be considered to be characterised by the presence of dolichocephaly, and the absence of brachycephaly more than the Malve Brahmin. This conclusion, derived from the figure given by Dr. Guha, is directly opposed to the supposition made by him in his explanation referrered to above.

Comparing the Gujarati and the Marathi castes, Dr. Guha observed,[12] that the Audich Brahmin shows from intimate to close association with many of the castes of Maharashtra, and proceeds to remark that "in a lower degree, relationship is also shown by the other Gujarati and Marathi castes, excepting the Kathi, and the Brahma-Kshatri. The latter, however, appear to have a slight association with the Karada, and the Sāraswat-Gour, who are unrelated to the Kunbi-Patidars." Greater brachycephaly and finer nose of the Gujarati castes explain, according to him, "the closer relationship of the Marathi with those castes of Gujarat, who migrated there,

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[12] P. XXXI.

from upper India, barring the Brahma-Kshatris, and would appear to suggest the existence of a common racial substratum from Central India to Maharashtra. This substratum seems to have been overlaid by a brachycephalic element in Western India, particularly, in Gujarat, which accounts for the difference of the Gujarati from both the Central Indian and the Maratha population." Here, we must observe, first, that there are only two Gujarati castes among those measured, which are believed to have migrated there from Northern and Central India, and out of the two, only the Audich Brahmins show a close relationship with the Marathi castes, though Dr. Guha seems to suggest, that there are a number of such Gujarati castes with whom the Marathi castes show close relationship. Now, if we are to accept the suggestion that the relation of the Audich Brahmin with the Marathi castes is due to a common racial substratum between Central India and Maharashtra, we will have to admit that the other Gujarati caste, *viz.*, the Brahma-Kshatri, which has migrated there from Central India, has absorbed the brachycephalic element of Gujarat, and that, the Audich Brahmin has not. Perhaps, the Audich Brahmin will have to be considered as having migrated to Gujarat after the brachycephalic element had fully intermixed with the indigenous people, and thus, the Audich Brahmin could remain free from its influence. Further, in his explanation, Dr. Guha suggests as if the racial substratum that Maharashtra has in common with Central India, has remained absolutely free from inter-mixture with other strains. But, in another connection, he says that there is, "no doubt of the close relationship of Maharashtra, Kannada, Central India, Gujarat, Andhra, and Tamil Nadu."[13] I have already referred to his explanation of the non-association of Kunbi-Patidar with most of the Gujarat castes, *viz.*, that they "originally" had "a different racial substratum from the other people of Gujarat". I have also pointed out, that the Kunbi-Patidar shows some association, in fact, a fair degree of association, with a number of

[13] P. LVIII.

Marathi castes. It must also be borne in mind that the Audich Brahmin is the only Gujarati caste with whom the Kunbi-Patidar shows some association. From these associations between the Kunbi-Patidar and the Audich Brahmin, only one valid conclusion is possible, and that is, if the Kunbi-Patidar is to be supposed to belong to a racial substratum originally different from that of the people of Gujarat, then, the Audich Brahmin and the Marathi castes also belong to the same substratum, and that, the association between the Audich Brahmin and the Marathi castes is not to be explained by reference to the supposed Central Indian substratum of the Audich Brahmin. In another connection Dr. Guha has himself admitted, that the Audich Brahmins have absorbed 'to a considerable extent' the brachycephalic strain.[14] Perhaps, the Marathi castes, the Audich Brahmins, the Kunbi-Patidars, and some of the Rajputs of Central India, represent a strain which is mainly mesaticephalic, and to that extent different from the brachycephalic strain of Gujarat, Kannada, or Bengal.

While commenting on Dr. Guha's interpretation of his figures in respect of the Marathi castes, I am constrained to observe, that Dr. Guha's treatment of other workers in the field, when their observations differ from his, is not what it should be. Thus, when he finds that his observations on eye-colour of the Chitpavan Brahmins based on 103 subjects only, in some particulars, differ from those of Dr. Mrs. Irawati Karve based on more than 3,000 individuals, he simply observes,[15] "as her observations, however, were not taken with the help of Martin's *Augenfarbentafel* but from visual impressions only, these differences can very well be understood," implying thereby, that her observations being unscientific, he need not mind the differences. In the very paper from which figures for comparison are taken by Dr. Guha, Mrs. Karve has clearly pointed out[16] that she had recorded her observations with the

[14] P. XXVIII.

[15] P. XXV.

[16] "Beobachtungen über die Augenfarben an Chitpavan Brahmanen," *Zeits. für. morph. unel Anthrop.*, Band XXIX.

aid of artificial eyes available at the Optician's, and that they were, afterwards, reduced to the categories of Martin's *Augenfarbentafel.* It would have been far more correct to admit that the differences are, perhaps, due to the smallness of Dr. Guha's sample.

While on the subject of the Marathi castes, it becomes one's painful duty to point, how sometimes Dr. Guha's enthusiasm leads him astray as regards his sociological facts. About the Sāraswat-Gour Brahmins he observes, that they do not marry their maternal uncle's daughter, and in this respect they are one only with one other caste of Maharashtra. He quotes my conclusion about the Dravidian origin of the cross-cousin marriage approvingly, and concludes, that its absence among the Sāraswats, "lends some support to their traditional migration from Northern India."[17] For his statement about the absence of cross-cousin marriage among the Sāraswats, he refers, as his authority, to Enthoven's *Tribes and Castes of Bombay.* Knowing the Sāraswat Brahmins at first hand, and knowing that the custom of cross-cousin marriage is deeply ingrained in the community, Dr. Guha's statement came to me as an utter surprise. On referring to his supposed authority, I have failed to trace any support for it. Indeed, it would have been surprising to find such a statement in Enthoven's work. In his enthusiasm to lend support to the North Indian origin of the Sāraswat Brahmins, he makes use of wrong sociological information, instead of trying to evaluate the tradition in the light of the physical facts measured by him. It is seen from the table of values for R.C.R.L. that the closest association shown by his Sāraswat Brahmins is with the Kanarese Brahmin, and the Tamil Brahmin (1·20 and 1·32). The next close association is with the Kāyastha-Prabhu of Maharashtra, the value of the coefficient being 2·69. The next five castes in the order of the values of their coefficients are: Telugu Brahmin, 4·26, Bengali Pod, 4·46, Karada Brahmin, 4·88, Chitpavan Brahmin, 6·11, and Desastha Brahmin, 6·60.

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[17] P. XXIX.

Thus, it is seen, that according to the scheme of valuation of the figures proposed by Dr. Guha, Sāraswat Brahmins show intimate affinities (with values of less than 4·50) with the three out of four Dravidian speaking Brahmins measured and compared, only one non-Brahmin Maharashtra caste, and one lower caste of Bengal. They do not show any association with the U.P. Brahmins whatever, and their association with the Central Indian castes is of the third degree. Under the circumstances, I submit, I fail to see how Dr. Guha can at all lend support to the supposed Northern Indian origin of the Sāraswat Brahmins.

Regarding the Tamil castes, Dr. Guha observes,[18] "a comparison of all the measurements published on the Tamil groups discussed above, make it clear, that the physical type of the Tamil is made up of two racial strains,—a brachycephalic and a dolichocephalic element predominating in the higher and lower castes respectively," and further remarks that "brachycephaly is not confined to the coastal Tamils, but is dominant among all the upper castes."[19] If he means by the Tamil group, as he seems to do, all, even including those for whom Thurston and Hornell have given data, his statement that the brachycephalic element predominates in the higher castes is not quite correct. That the Tamil Brahmin is mesaticephalic was known even from Thurston's data which gave a cephalic index of 76·50. Dr. Guha's own work gives us an index of 77·36, *i.e.*, well within the range of mesaticephaly as accepted by ethnologists. Even his cephalic index of 79·49 for Tamil Chetti need not necessarily be considered as brachycephaly. Further, according to Thurston's measurements, Shanan and Idaiyan with cephalic indices of 76·60 and 76·00, respectively, are mesaticephalic. Hornell's measurements for Shanans, on the other hand, giving a cephalic index of 80·72, make them brachycephalic. The Kammalan—the artisan caste of Tamil country,—who have, for more than five centuries,

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[18] P. XXXVII.
[19] P. XXXVIII.

resisted the claim of the Brahmins for supremacy in the social heirarchy, according to Thurston's measurements, are dolichocephalic, with a cephalic index of 75·00. The Vellala—the largest agricultural community of the Tamil country,—with a C.I. 73·21, has been regarded as the most typical representative of the Dradivian type. Neither of these important castes was measured by Dr. Guha. If these measurements are accepted as correct,—and I see no reason why they should not be,—it is clear that Dr. Guha's generalisation about the relative distribution of brachycephaly, and, dolichocephaly is not quite correct. If, on the other hand, the generalisation is based on his own data, then, it is apparent, that all the three castes are mesaticephalic in the ascending order of mesaticephaly ranking as Kalla, Brahmin and Chetti (75·26, 77·36, 79·49).

Lastly coming to Bihar and Bengal, Dr. Guha computes the values of R.C.R.L.'s between a sample of Bihari Brahmins, on whom measurements were taken by one of his students, and groups of Brahmins from other regions and Bengali castes measured by himself. On the results he observes,[20] "Their (of the Bihari Brahmins) closest relations are with the Uriya and the Telugu Brahmins, and slightly less with the Nambudris of Malabar. If the disturbing factor of personal equation was absent, it is not improbable that the values of the C.R.L.'s would have been much less. With the Bengali castes, the U.P. Brahmins and the Sikhs, the Behari Brahmins do not appear to be related, in spite of the historical associations of Bihar and Bengal." All the values for R.C.R.L. between the Bihari Brahmins and these castes are above 14. The Bengali Pod shows the value of 17·58 with Bihari Kanaujia Brahmin which is actually less than that of the Bihari Maithil Brahmin with the Telugu Brahmin (18·48), and still less than that of the Nambudri with either of the two groups of Bihari Brahmins.[21]

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[20] P. XXXIX.
[21] Table X.

On p. XLI Dr. Guha gives the value of Reduced C.R.L.'s for certain castes of Bengal, measured by another of his students, and also the values of this coefficient between these and the Bengali castes measured by himself. On their results, the comments he makes breathe a different tone regarding 'personal equation'.* His observations are worth quoting.[22] "The lowest value of the Reduced C.R.L. is between the Pod and the Namasudra, namely, $5 \cdot 56 \pm 0 \cdot 24$ and next to it are the values between the Pod and the Mahisya, the Kāyastha and the Vaidya, the Pod and the Vaidya and the Brahmin and the Vaidya. Between the rest the values are somewhat higher. As, however, the factor of personal equation has to be taken into account, it is probable the degrees of true relationships between all these groups are much smaller, than the figures given seem to indicate. It may consequently be concluded that the

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* In this matter of the different evaluation of 'personal equation' I have already drawn attention to his reference to 'personal equation' regarding his comparison of his measurements on the U.P. Brahmins with Eickstedt's measurements on the Sikhs. There he thinks that the personal equation has operated in favour of giving larger values for R.C.R.L. He brings in personal equation also in connection with his comparison of some of the Dravidian castes with the Coorgs. He finds that the values for R.C.R.L. between the Tamil Brahmin, the Kanarese non-Brahmin, and the Kanarese Brahmin, on the one hand, and the Coorgs on the other,—the Coorg measurements are those taken by Sir T. Holland, are 12.24, 14.39 and 18.33 respectively. He concludes that the Coorgs, the Tamil Brahmin, and the Kanarese non-Brahmin would appear to be related and remarks, " if allowance can be made for personal equation, this relation would probably be very close." (p. XXXIII.) Here also Dr. Guha takes the 'personal equation' to have raised the value of R.C.R.L. In the above two references regarding 'personal equation' in respect of Bihari Brahmins and certain Bengal castes given in the text, in one case the 'personal equation' is considered to have similar effect. While in the other case, it is considered to have lower the value of R.C.R.L. Thus, in three cases out of four the 'personal equation' is believed to have enhanced the value, and in only one case to have reduced it.

[22] P. XLII.

racial basis of the Pod, the Mahisya and the Namasudra is fundamentally the same. The upper section formed [by] the Brahmins and the Kāyasthas, however, appear to be somewhat different. The relationship of these two, with the Vaidyas and the Suvarnabaniks appears to be close, but exactly how much, cannot be actually determined owing to our ignorance of the part played by personal equation in these comparisons." The lowest value of the C.R.L., that between the Pod and the Namasudra, is 5·56, and that between the Pod and the Mahisya is 12·63. One section of the Vaidya shows the values to be 13·37, and 14·99, between itself and the Kāyastha and the Pod respectively. Another section of the Vaidya gives the values to be 22·96, 16·31, and 16·10 between it and the Brahmin, the Kāyastha, and the Pod respectively. Surely the bias, whatever it may be, cannot be taken to affect the computation of figures so differently, and if we must admit on the strength of the figures that the Vaidya is racially one with the Brahmin and the Kāyastha, he is, to say the least, no less related to the Pod. The values of the coefficients between the Mahisya and one section of the Vaidya, and Mahisya and the other section of the Vaidya are 4·47, and 5·34, in order and of those between these sections and the Namasudra are 9·33 and 8·82. With these figures the conclusion seems irresistible, though perhaps not liked by Dr. Guha, that the two sections of the Vaidyas are of the same racial stock as the Mahisya, and are not very distant from the Namasudra. If the Suvarnabanik with the value of the coefficient with the Pod being 21·85 is racially quite distinct from the Pod, it is clear that he is no less unrelated to the Brahmin and the Kāyastha with whom the values are 25·07 and 20·95 respectively. The first part of the last sentence in the above quotation, therefore, only embodies Dr. Guha's belief, shared by him with others, and not his interpretation of the figures and leads him in its second part to put forward a lame argument.

In the second section of his treatment Dr. Guha deals with each linguistic division as a unit, computing R.C.R.L.'s on the basis of combined castes of each region. He has not

made it clear whether all the castes measured in each linguistic division have been combined for purposes of this comparison. It would appear, however, from his reference to Tables XXII and XXII (*a*), that he has grouped together, in each case only such castes for which he has presented the values for R.C.R.L.'s in these tables. If this is correct, it is a serious defect in this method of comparison. As for Gujarat, neither the Kunbi-Patidar, nor the Brahma-Kshatri, would be included in the composite unit. For Maharashtra, the Prabhu, and the Karada Brahmin, would have been left out; and for the three Dravidian regions, Kanerese, Telugu and Tamil, the non-Brahmin group would not have been included for the comparison in each case. The values for R.C.R.L.'s in the case of these castes have not been presented in the tables referred to. Further, a comparison of the linguistic units on the basis of castes measured by Dr. Guha would be fundamentally defective, because, as I have already pointed out, for the U.P. and Orissa, only the Brahmins are measured. In Central India, in Maharashtra and the Telugu and the Kanarese regions, no caste of the status of the Iluva in the Malayalam region, or the Kalla in the Tamil region, has been measured. There is involved, moreover, in this procedure of comparing linguistic units an important question of method. The main purpose in such investigations is to analyse the various racial types as they occur in their purity, or racial mixtures. It is not always that we find in each linguistic area, that all the castes measured, show with one another fairly close association. It happens a number of times, that whereas certain castes in a linguistic region show a more or less close association with one another, others bespeak a different type. Under such circumstances, a composite type of a linguistic unit is, I submit, not comparable, with another composite type. Such a procedure will very probably conceal the true racial affinity of some castes of one linguistic division with others of another, and may indicate false affinity between peoples of different linguistic regions. In Dr. Guha's data, for example, the Tamil Kalla is distinct from the Tamil Brahmin and the Chetti with the values of R.C.R.L.'s being 12·85 and

13·01 respectively, while, it is very closely related to the Telugu non-Brahmin, and the Telugu Brahmin, the values being 2·54 and 3·26. Now the values for R.C.R.L. between the Telugu Brahmin and the Tamil Brahmin, the first and the Chetti, and the Telugu Brahmin and the Telugu non-Brahmin, are respectively 5·96, 10·28 and 0·20. The value of this coefficient between the Tamil Brahmin and the Tamil Chetti is 4·28. It is clear that the Tamil caste of Kalla is very closely related, both to the Telugu Brahmin, and the Telugu non-Brahmin. The Tamil Brahmin is similarly related to the Tamil Chetti, and the Telugu Brahmin to the Telugu non-Brahmin. While the Tamil Brahmin is related to the Telugu Brahmin in the second degree of association, he is related to the Telugu non-Brahmin in the third degree of association. Under the circumstances, if Tamil castes are to be combined and thus to be compared with the combined Telugu castes, a false indication of racial affinity between the two is likely to be given because of the weightage that the Tamil Kalla would exert in favour of the Telugu castes. As it is, the value of this composite C.R.L. as given by Dr. Guha is 7·86 ; that between Tamil Nadu and Kannada is 10·57 ; that between Telangana and Kannada is 15·77 ; that between Telangana and Malaylam region 5·96 ; between Tamil Nadu and Malayalam country 20·60 ; and, that between Kannada and Malayalam regions 27·24.[23] On the basis of this composite comparison, Dr. Guha observes,[24] " the Kanarese and the Malayali are, therefore, at the two ends, the former representing the broad-headed and the latter the long-headed type. The Tamil seems to have absorbed the brachycephalic strain considerably, but retains a strong substratum of the dolichocephalic element, and stands midway between the Kanarese and the Telugu ; the last being closer to the Malayali tribes than any other of the Dravidian speaking higher groups." Essaying to give an explanation of this phenomenon, he remarks, " It seems certain, however,

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[23] P. XXXVII.
[24] P. XXXVIII.

that the Telugu and the Kanarese, developed into distinct divisions much earlier, but the Tamil and the Malayali remained together till very much later. The closer relationship of the Telugu and the Malayali, and the divergence of the Malayali from the Tamil must, therefore, be explained as due to the infusion of a later racial strain, which moving along the western littoral, passed through the Kanarese country into the south-eastern parts occupied by the Tamils, but did not penetrate Malabar, nor appear to have moved northwards into the Telugu region. The Kanarese seem to have been most affected by this movement, the Tamils partially, the Telugus only very slightly, but the Malayalis remained altogether unaffected." From the figures given above, however, it is clearly seen that the relationship between Telangana and Tamil Nadu is really the close association between the Telugu Brahmin and non-Brahmin and the Tamil Kalla. The association between Tamil Brahmin and the Telugu Brahmin indicated by the value 5·96 is, according to Dr. Guha's rating, of the second degree of association, and that between the Tamil Brahmin and the Kanarese Brahmin which is given by the value 4·72 is of the same degree. Similarly is the case regarding association between the Tamil Brahmin and the Nair (6·39). The association between the Tamil Brahmin and the Telugu non-Brahmin is of the third degree, similarly that between the Telugu Brahmin and the Tamil Chetti. There is no association between the Telugu non-Brahmin and the Tamil Chetti, the value of R.C.R.L. between them being 14·96. In the same way, there is almost no association between Tamil Kalla and Tamil Chetti (13·01). The association between the Kanarese Brahmin and the Telugu Brahmin is of the second degree (5·84), while with the Telugu non-Brahmin it is of the third degree (9·62); and with Tamil Chetti, of the second degree (6·04); with Kalla, the Kanarese Brahmin is related in the third degree (11·00); the Kanarese non-Brahmin has association of the second degree with the Kanarese Brahmin (4·70), of the third degree with Chetti (9·18), with Tamil Brahmin he has almost no association (13·56), and with other castes he

has no association at all, the values of C.R.L.'s being all above 18. It is evident from this that there is fairly close association between the Brahmins of the three regions. Telugu non-Brahmin has closest association with Tamil Kalla, but only of the third degree with Tamil Brahmin and the Kanarese Brahmin, and no association with either Kanarese non-Brahmin or Tamil Chetti. The Kanarese non-Brahmin having almost no association with Tamil Brahmin, clearly indicates that the main physical association is between the Brahmins of the three regions, and besides, between Telugu Brahmin and non-Brahmin and Tamil Kalla. A distribution of association like this should rather lead us to infer at this stage, that in Tamil region the two higher castes are intruders, one of whom at least, the Brahmin has more or less equally close association with the Brahmins of the Kanarese and the Telugu regions. Some common racial substratum between the threee Brahmins, therefore, which is clearly indicated by the value of the C.R.L., gets masked by the composite treatment. Malayalam Iluva has values of R.C.R.L. with Nair and the Nambudri which indicate no relation with them being above 14, while it has second degree of association with both the Telugu castes and one Tamil caste, namely, the Kalla. With the Tamil Brahmin this has nearly no association (13·94), and has absolutely no relationship with the Kanarese castes or the Tamil Chetti. The Nair has first degree association with the Nambudri and the Telugu Brahmins, and second degree association with the Telugu non-Brahmin and the Tamil Brahmin, third degree association with Tamil Kalla and Tamil Chetti. The Nambudri has first degree association with the Nair, second degree association with the Telugu Brahmin (6·56), and third degree association with Telugu non-Brahmin and Tamil Brahmin. It is clear from this that there is fairly close association between the Malayali castes and the Telugu castes; but it is not equally clear that the only relationship between the Malayali castes and the Tamil castes subsists through the indigenous dolichocephalic substratum. As a matter of fact, the dolichocephalic Malayali Iluva has almost no relationship with the Tamil

Brahmin and the Chetti. That the Tamil Brahmin and Tamil Chetti should have closer relations with the Nambudri Brahmin than with the Iluva, must lead us to conclude that the intruding element in Tamil country has also affected to some extent at least, the higher castes of the Malayali region. The values of the C.R.L.'s being thus separately interpreted do not support the contention that "the Malayalis remain altogether unaffected" by the brachycephalic racial strain as is contended by Dr. Guha on the basis of composite comparisons. Nor do they warrant Dr. Guha's contention that the Tamil and the Malayali 'lived together very much later'. In view of the fact that the Kanarese non-Brahmin does not show any relationship with either the Telugu Brahmin or the Telugu non-Brahmin, one fails to see how one can posit common connection between the Telugus and the Kanarese before they 'developed into distinct divisions'. The one conclusion that arises from these figures is that the Kanarese non-Brahmin who is a proper brachycephalic strain, is rather unmixed with the Dravidian dolichocephalic strain. The castes composing the Kanarese non-Brahmin group are believed to be of the same stock as the peasants of the region. If this be correct, it would mean that the basic racial strain in the Kanarese region is brachycephalic unmixed with the dolichocephals. Perhaps Dr. Guha in making the generalisation quoted above has merely imported linguistic considerations to which the physical data made available by him lend no support.

Regarding the affinities of individual castes, Dr. Guha's remarks about the Nambudris deserve a separate notice. Finding the value of R.C.R.L. between the Nambudri Brahmin and the U.P. Brahmin to be 6·30, he concludes that the "closer affinities" of the U.P. Brahmins are with the Nambudris, "who are supposed to have migrated from the U.P."[25] Evidently he implies that the so-called close affinities

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[25] P. LVII.

of the Nambudri with the U.P. Brahmin are due to the origin of the Nambudris from the U.P. Looking to the values of R.C.R.L. one finds that the degree of association between the Nambudri and the U.P. Brahmin is almost precisely the same as between the Nambudri and the Telugu Brahmin (6·56). The U.P. Brahmin shows association in the third degree with the Nair, the Rajput, the Telugu Brahmin, the Pathan, the Malve Brahmin, and the Red-Kaffir. Under these circumstances, rather than put down the association of the Nambudri and others with the U.P. Brahmins as being due to their origin, wholly, or partially, from the U.P., I submit, that the most scientific explanation would be that the varying degree of association shown by the Nambudri, the Nair, the Rajput, the Telugu Brahmin and the Malve Brahmin is due to the common substratum among these of the Dravidian dolichocephalic strain, and that the Dravidian dolichocephalic strain has some association with the northern dolichocephalic strain represented by the U.P. Brahmins. This, moreover, is later on admitted by Dr. Guha himself when he says about the Dravidian dolichocephalic strain that it "appears to show some morphological similarities with the long-headed strain of Northern India."[26] As a matter of fact he thinks that the Dravidian dolichocephalic strain, "must be the south-eastward drift of this race ('a very early type of modern men') which reached India in very early times. The other long-headed type, as history would seem to suggest, belonged to a late drift from the north-west though both may have evolved out of a common stock...."[27] If this contention be accepted, as it seems it must be, instead of regarding the Telugu Brahmin as the 'purest' representative of the Dravidian dolichocephals as Dr. Guha does,[28] we will have to accord that status to the Nambudri.

[26] P. LXII.
[27] P. LXII.
[28] P. LX.

Coming to the third section, Dr. Guha taking a value for C.R.L. of 4·50 as showing intimate affinities,* concludes, that there is " a very intimate relationship between the long-headed peoples of Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Malabar."[29] On a reference to the table attached (A) one sees that the Nambudri Brahmin has this low value of C.R.L. with no one but Nair. With the Telugu Brahmin he has only second degree of association, and the Telugu non-Brahmin and the Tamil Brahmin are included only within the third degree of association. With the Iluva of his own region and the Chetti and the Kalla of the Tamil region, he has no relationship. Of these we will leave Chetti as being not long-headed. The Tamil Brahmin, too, according to Dr. Guha, is a broad-headed type, and if we leave him out also, it is clear that the Nambudri has no association with the long-headed people of Tamil Nadu. Nor has he any intimate affinities with any of the Telugu peoples. The Nair has intimate affinities, in addition to the Nambudri, with the Telugu Brahmin alone. With the Telugu non-Brahmin and the Tamil Brahmin he has only the second degree of association. With the Tamil Kalla he has only the third degree of association, and with the Iluva none. With the broad-headed Tamil Chetti, he has also the third degree of association. Further he has the third degree of association with the U.P. Brahmins, the Rajput, the Malve Brahmin, the Sāraswat-Gour, the Bengali Brahmin, and the Bengali Pod. Under the circumstances, I fail to see how we can posit intimate relationship between the long-headed peoples of Tamil Nadu and Malabar. The two long-headed peoples of the two

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* It must be pointed out that in this section Dr. Guha has in view three degrees of association : that shown by a value of 4·50 or less is close or ' intimate affinity ' ; that shown by a value of 4·51 to 7 is ' some definite association ' and that shown by a value of 7·1 to 13 is some association. On p. 24, however, in his explanation of the values he has given a different scheme of interpretation : " From 0-4 intimate association. From 4·1-13—association, above 13—divergence."

[29] P. LX.

regions, Tamil Kalla and Malayali Iluva, are only related in the second degree of association. While the Kalla is related in the first degree of association with the Telugu Brahmin, and the Telugu non-Brahmin, the long-headed Malayali Iluva has only second degree of association with the Telugu Brahmin and the Telugu non-Brahmin. It is clear, therefore, that there is no such intimate relation between the long-headed peoples of the three regions as posited by Dr. Guha, and the precise nature of the relationship is of the nature I have indicated above.

On the same basis, he further concludes that there is "a very intimate relationship between the peoples having a more intermediate head-form in Guzrat, Maharashtra, Kannada, Tamil Nadu, and Bengal."[30] Here we must note, at the outset, that this is one of the rarest places where Dr. Guha refers to a more intermediate head-form, rather than to brachycephaly. Going through the table (A) one finds that intimate relationship exists between the Nagar Brahmin, on the one hand, and Bania-Jain and the Kathi, on the other; and also, perhaps, between the Kathi and the Brahma-Kshatri; and the Audich Brahmin and the Bania-Jain. The Brahma-Kshatri has no intimate relationship either with the Nagar, the Audich Brahmin, or with the Bania-Jain. So even within Gujarat there is limited intimate relationship. The Kunbi-Patidar, another Gujarati caste, has only the third degree of association with the Audich Brahmin, and none with any other.[31] Outside Gujarat only the Audich Brahmin has intimate relationship with a number of Maharashtra castes. No other Gujarati caste has any intimate relationship with any of the Marathi castes. As regards Kannada, again, only the Audich Brahmin has intimate relationship with the Kanarese Brahmin. Neither of the two Tamil castes, Kalla and Tamil Brahmin, that can be compared with the Gujarati castes, has any such relationship with them. Turning to Bengal, not

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[30] P. LX.

[31] P. 30, Table XV.

only has no Bengal caste any intimate relation with any Gujarati caste but the only association shown is in the third degree of association, with Bengal Kāyastha by Nagar Brahmin, the Bania-Jain, and the Kathi, and with Pod by the Audich Brahmin. It is quite clear from this that the above generalisation about the intimate relation is far wide of the mark.

Considering the second degree of association, *i.e.*, values for R.C.R.L. of 7, and below, Dr. Guha establishes some definite relationships[32] between the long-headed peoples of Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Malabar; and the long-headed elements of Maharashtra and Central India; and between "the whole of this long-headed group of Maharastra, Andhra, Tamil Nadu, and Malabar," with "the peoples having a more intermediate head-form in Gujarat, Maharastra, Kannada, Tamil Nadu, and Bengal." This generalisation is, on the whole, correct, as far as it goes; but we must point out that two of the crucial castes that should form the basis for comparison have not been compared, *viz.*, the Kanarese non-Brahmin, and the Kunbi-Patidar. Further also, comparisons between the Tamil non-Brahmin, the Chetti, and the Telugu non-Brahmin on the one hand, and the castes of Gujarat and Maharashtra are also not included. It must also be noted regarding the supposed definite relationship between Central India on the one hand, and Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Malabar, on the other, that it is based only on the fact of the second degree of association between the Telugu Brahmin on the one hand, and the Rajput and the Malve Brahmin on the other. No other caste of Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Malabar shows second degree of association with the Malve Brahmin or the Rajput; Tamil Kalla, the Iluva and the Nair, showing only the third degree of association. Of the Bengali castes, only the Pod shows first degree of association with the Sāraswat-Gour Brahmin, and the second degree of association with the Chitpavan Brahmin, the Desastha Brahmin, and the Maratha.

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[32] P. LXI.

The Bengali Kāyastha shows only third degree of association with only one Marathi caste, *viz.*, the Sāraswat-Gour Brahmin. The same is true of the Bengali Brahmin. It is clear from this, therefore, that the supposed second degree of association between the Bengali castes, and the Marathi castes is not borne out by the figures. With Gujarati castes, as it is already pointed out, *viz.*, the Nagar Brahmin, the Kathi, the Bania-Jain, it is only the Bengali Kāyastha who has the third degree of association with them. The Bengali Pod, in addition to his association with Marathi castes, pointed out above, has the second degree of association with the Telugu Brahmin, the Tamil Kalla, and the Iluva, and the third degree of association with the Malve Brahmin, the Rajput, the Kanarese Brahmin, the Orissa Brahmin, the Tamil Brahmin, the Audich Brahmin and the Nair. He has not even the third degree of association with the two other castes of his own region. It is clear, therefore, that among the Bengali castes, the position of the Bengali Pod is rather peculiar, and the one point in this peculiarity is that it has no relationship with the Gujarati castes, excepting the Audich Brahmin. The Bengali Kāyastha, over and above his third degree of association with the Sāraswat-Gour Brahmin, shows similar association with the Tamil Brahmin, the Kanarese Brahmin, the Nagar Brahmin, the Khos, the Tadjik, the Kathi and the Bania-Jain. Bengali Brahmin has the third degree of association with Tamil Brahmin, Nair, Sāraswat-Gour Brahmin, Kanarese Brahmin, Khos, and Pathan. It must be evident from this distribution of association that the Bengali Kāyastha is peculiar in having association with the three Gujarati castes. The Bengali Brahmin and the Bengali Kāyastha agree in having the third degree of association with two South Indian Brahmins, *viz.*, Kanarese Brahmin and Tamil Brahmin. Over and above this the Bengali Brahmin shows relationship with the Nair. The correct conclusion that can be drawn from this is that all the Bengali castes have some association with the South Indian castes. The association of the Pod is stronger with the Dravidian dolichocephals, though like the other Bengali

castes, he has association with the Dravidian mesaticephals. The Bengali Kāyastha has no association with the Dravidian dolichocephals. The Bengali Brahmin has some association with the Dravidian dolichocephals, *viz.*, with the Nair. All the three have some association with the Chitrali Khos. The relationship, therefore, with the Gujarati castes, exists only in the case of the Bengali Kāyasthas. The predominant relationship of Bengali Brahmin is with the South Indian mesaticephals. Dr. Guha's remark, therefore, about the relationship of Bengal, on the one hand, and Gujarat and Maharashtra, on the other, is not correct.

Trying to see affinities of the brachycephalic strain of the population of Gujarat, Bengal, Kannada, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu further afield, Dr. Guha regards it as "not wholly unlike the one, seen among the Tadjik of Badakshan, and which forms also one of the component elements of the Khos of Chitral."[33] From Table XXII, it will be seen that the Tadjik has the third degree of association with only one caste, namely, the Bengali Kāyastha. The Chitrali Khos has the third degree of association with all the three Bengali castes and with the Nagar Brahmin, the Audich Brahmin, the Kathi, perhaps the Bania-Jain (13·01); with only one Marathi caste, the Sāraswat-Gour Brahmins; with the Kanarese Brahmin, and with no Tamil caste. For Kanarese non-Brahmin, of course, there is no material for comparison. So it is clear, neither Tamil Nadu, nor, mostly Maharastra, has any association either with the Tadjik, or with the Chitrali Khos. It must further be pointed out that the same Chitrali Khos has similar third degree association with one long-headed caste of Central India, *viz.*, the Rajput. Under the circumstances, it is difficult to see any valid reason for the above remark about the affinities of the brachycephalic strain.

On the basis of third degree association (values of R.C.R.L. being 13, or below) Dr. Guha finds that a dolichocephalic strain "underlies the entire population of the Peninsular,

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[33] P. LXI.

and Central India, and also, partially of Guzrat and Bengal."[34] From Table A it is seen that of the four Gujarat castes, the three peculiarly Gujarati castes, *viz.*, Nagar Brahmin, Bania-Jain, and Kathi, show no association with any South Indian caste except the Kanarese Brahmin. Both the Nagar Brahmin, and the Bania-Jain, have only second degree of association with the Kanarese Brahmin, while the Kathi has none whatever. Two of them, *viz.*, the Bania-Jain and Nagar Brahmin, have fair degree of association with the Marathi castes. In view of their non-association with the Telugu and the Tamil castes, this association with Marathi castes cannot be credited to the presence of a common dolichocephalic strain. Even the association with the Kanarese Brahmin may only be the result of the common mesaticephaly or brachycephaly, and need not necessarily indicate common possession of the dolichocephalic strain. In this connection, comparison of these Gujarati castes with the Kanarese non-Brahmins, which caste as we have seen is free from dolichocephalic mixture, would have been crucial. But unfortunately Dr. Guha has not given us the values of their C.R.L.'s. Under the circumstances, we cannot posit any substratum of dolichocephalic strain in the population of Gujarat, excepting in the Audich Brahmin. Even about Bengal it must be mentioned that the association of two among its three castes measured, *viz.*, the Brahmin and the Kāyastha, is more with the mesaticephalic or brachycephalic South Indian castes, than with the dolichocephalic, as is already pointed out. Here again it must be contended that inasmuch as neither of the two castes shows any relation with the Telugu Brahmin, the Tamil Kalla, or the Nambudri Brahmin, their comparison with the Kanarese non-Brahmin would have provided us with a crucial test, which is not possible for the reason stated above. Under these condidtions, we cannot endorse the generalisation that the South Indian dolichocephalic strain enters into the composition

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[34] P. LXI.

of the Bengal population excepting in the case of the Pod, whose case, as I have already said, is peculiar.

On page XLIX, Dr. Guha has compared six tribal groups. Out of these only two, *viz.*, the Munda and the Oraon, show close affinities with a value for R.C.R.L. of 1·79. The Bhil and the Chenchu, between them show the second degree of association (6·11), the Chenchu and the Kadar show the third degree of association (10·32). Between the others there is no association whatsoever. If these figures are to be interpreted according to the statistical rating we will have to posit, at least, five different racial strains in the composition of only six tribal groups: one for the Oraon and the Munda, another distinct strain for the Nattu Malayan, a third for the Kadar, this strain, to some extent mixing with that of the Chenchu, a fourth strain common to the Bhil and the Chenchu, and a fifth strain entering into the composition of the Bhil, thereby differentiating it from the Kadar.

The above discussion will have shown that on the basis of the castes measured by Dr. Guha, and the various values for R.C.R.L. computed by him, racial analysis of India on a much more comprehensive and scientific basis than has been possible to scholars on Risley's and Thurston's data is not possible. The truth of this remark is borne in upon the reader, when he finds that Dr. Guha discerns[35] in the racial composition of the peoples of India types which are more or less the same as recognised by other writers with the help of the data collected by Risley and Thurston. Thus, he recognises three dolichocephalic strains: one represented by the U.P. Brahmins, the Indo-Aryan type of other writers; another represented by some Telugu and Tamil castes, called by others the Dravidian type; and the third, whose distinguishing characteristics are "strongly marked brow-ridges, broad short face, the mouth slightly inclined forwards and a small flat nose with the alae extended."[36] As representatives of this type

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[35] Pp. LXI and LXIII.
[36] P. LXII.

he cites the Veddas of Ceylon, the Bhils of the Vindhyas, and the Chenchus. This type has also been recognised by others and called the Pre-Dravida or the Pre-Dravidian type. He further recognises a fourth type which he calls a black, pigmy strain of which the Kadar and the Pulayan are, according to him, typical representatives. Evidently this is a fourth dolichocephalic strain about which he himself admits[37] that it "is mostly submerged in India at the present time". Others have associated a slightly Negrito strain with a Pre-Dravida type, and it will be admitted that in so far as this so-called type is 'mostly submerged' the procedure followed by other writers of not recognising it separately, is quite correct. If the Bhil and the Chenchu are to be taken as one type and the Kadar as another, then from Dr. Guha's own values for R.C.R.L. we must look for some other element, as I have already pointed out, to explain the fact of the second degree of association only between the Bhil and the Chenchu. On the other hand, in so far as the Chenchu and the Kadar have the third degree of association, we will have to admit that the slightly Negrito strain is also mixed with one of the two representatives of the third type of the dolichocephals. It is clear that the Nattu Malayan is not accommodated in the scheme of Dr. Guha. It is further evident that another type represented by the Munda and the Oraon, must be recognised. The present writer stressed this point as early as 1924,[38] and on the basis of Risley's data recognised it as rather mesaticephalic, and going into the composition of some Bihari castes. Of the third type Dr. Guha further says that it "seems also to have entered in a considerable degree in the lower stratum of the Indian population."[39] To judge by the values for R.C.R.L. of the Bhils and others given by Dr. Guha, there does not seem to be any warrant for this statement. They show, at best, only a slight association with the Malve

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[37] P. LXIII.
[38] "Ethnic Theory of Caste," *Man in India*, 1924, p. 256.
[39] P. LXII.

Brahmins (13·24). He recognises one brachycephalic element common to Gujarat, the western littoral, and Bengal. I have indicated above that there are certain serious difficulties in the acceptance of this statement. The two Mongoloid brachycephalic strains, that he recognises, he himself admits, do not belong to India proper. Thus, it will be seen that the scheme of racial analysis put forward by Dr. Guha does not purely arise out of the statistical analysis that he has presented.

Dr. Guha's measurements, apart from his statistical analysis, have brought to light certain features regarding Indian races which may now be taken up for consideration, though many of them have already been incidentally remarked upon. First, the most striking feature revealed is that the Telugu castes measured are dolichocephalic, the C.I.'s being 74·39 and 74·27 for Brahmin and non-Brahmin respectively. As is pointed out by Dr. Guha[40] the measurements taken by Thurston on nine Telugu castes yield an average C.I. of 77·60. In spite of the arguments Dr. Guha has advanced against the acceptance of Thurston's measurements as representative of the Telangana, it is quite clear from the arguments I have already advanced that before we can take the racial type of the Telugu people as being either dolichocephalic or mesaticephalic, as indicated by the two sets of measurements, we should require measurements on at least ten different castes of Telangana taken by some other anthropoligist. Second, as regards the western brachycephaly—from Kanarese region to Kathiawar—the C.I.'s of at least 23 different castes, *viz.*, the Coorgs, eight Kanarese castes including Kanarese Brahmins, twelve castes from the Marathi region including a number of lower castes, and at least one untouchable caste, and two Gujarat castes, the indices computed according to the measurements[41] of previous workers

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[40] P. XXXII.

[41] Guha, pp. 32, 33; and, "Ethnographic Survey of India," *Anthropometric Data from Bombay*, pp. 340, 341.

vary between 76·3 and 77·9. From this it is clear that the brachycephaly so called is really mesaticephaly. The highest C.I. is given by the Vakkaliga (81·76) and the next highest by Tulu castes. According to Dr. Guha's work the hgihest C.I. is also given by the Kanarese non-Brahmin (83·06), and the next highest is given by the Nagar Brahmin (81·38). This raises a question whether in the region that we are dealing with the most broad-headed people within the group are to be met with in the Kanarese districts. Before we propose any explanation of the mesaticephaly met with in this region we should like to be sure about the actual distribution of the different degrees of broad-headedness : whether it is the highest in the Kanarese region, or whether it is high at the two ends of the region, *viz.*, Kanarese districts on the one hand and Gujarat and Kathiawar on the other. Here I may point out that the measurements taken by me on ten castes in Kathiawar (to be published shortly) reveal that the C.I. varies from about 78·5 to about 81·5. In view of the difference in the index given by Dr. Guha's measurements and that given by the measurements of previous workers in respect of the Kanarese castes we must have fresh measurements on at least ten different castes of the Kanarese districts to enable us to specify accurately the distribution of the various degrees of broad-headedness in this region and to discuss adequately its bearing on the ethnic constitution. Third, in the case of the Nambudri Brahmin also the C.I. according to Dr. Guha's measurements is less by 3·79 than that given by previous measurements. With such a large difference we should better have another set of measurements on the Nambudri Brahmins before we class them as dolichocephalic rather than mesaticephalic.

Looking into the averages of C.I. and N.I. I find that in respect of sixteen castes for which previous measurements are available, the averages given by Dr. Guha's measurements show differences. In the case of C.I. (as will be seen from Table B) out of the sixteen averages ten averages according to Dr. Guha's measurements are more than the previous ones, and six are less. In respect of the N.I., however, all the

sixteen are, as calculated by Dr. Guha, less than the previous averages, and the difference varies from 2·67 to 7·68.

TABLE A.

(1) *Bania-Jain* and

Nagar Br.	(1·10)	Audich Br.	(3·75)
Kanarese Br.	(5·91)	Desastha Br.	(5·94)
Kathi	(6·32)	Brahma-Kshatri	(7·37)
Chitpavan Br.	(9·53)	Maratha	(9·75)
Sāraswat-Gour Br.	(11·73)	Bengali Kayastha	(12·65)
Khos	(13·01)		

(2) *Audich Br.* and

Desastha Br.	(2·56)	Kanarese Br.	(3·40)
Chitpavan Br.	(3·45)	Prabhu	(3·47)
Maratha	(3·56)	Bania-Jain	(3·75)
Karada Br.	(3·75)	Nagar Br.	(5·58)
Rajput	(7·81)	Sāraswat Br.	(8·38)
Bengali Pod	(9·16)	Brahma-Kshatri	(10·15)
Malve Br.	(10·46)	Kunbi-Patidar	(10·69)
Telugu Br.	(10·80)	Tamil Kalla	(11·24)
Chitrali Khos	(11·24)	Kathi	(11·65)

(3) *Bengali Br.* and

Bengali Kāyastha	(1·49)	Tamil Br.	(7·40)
Nair	(10·21)	Sāraswat Br.	(11·16)
Kanarese Br.	(11·92)	Khos	(11·95)
Pathan	(12·62)		

(4) *Chitpavan Br.* and

Prabhu	(0·15)	Desastha Br.	(0·48)
Karada Br.	(0·63)	Maratha	(1·07)
Audich Br.	(3·45)	Malve Br.	(5·27)
Rajput	(5·45)	Kanarese Br.	(5·53)
Tamil Kalla	(5·74)	Sāraswat Br.	(6·11)
Kunbi-Patidar	(6·63)	Bengal Pod	(7·46)
Telugu Br.	(7·99)	Bania-Jain	(9·53)
Nagar Br.	(12·24)	Iluva	(12·83)
Orissa Br.	(12·84)	Tamil Br.	(13·04)

(5) *Desastha Br.* and

Maratha	(0·35)	Chit. Br.	(0·48)
Prabhu	(0·95)	Karada Br.	(1·45)
Audich Br.	(2·56)	Kanarese Br.	(4·87)
Bania-Jain	(5·94)	Sāraswat Br.	(6·60)

(6) *Desastha Br.* and

Bengal Pod	(6·69)	Tamil Kalla	(6·76)
Malve Br.	(7·82)	Rajput	(8·02)
Nagar Br.	(8·54)	Kunbi-Patidar	(8·92)
Telugu Br.	(9·07)	Orissa Br.	(11·79)
Tamil Br.	(13·33)		

(7) *Kanarese Br.* and

Sāraswat Br.	(1·20)	Audich Br.	(3·40)
Kanarese Non-Br.	(4·70)	Tamil Br.	(4·72)
Desastha Br.	(4·87)	Chit. Br.	(5·53)
Telugu Br.	(5·84)	Bania-Jain	(5·91)
Tamil Chetti	(6·04)	Nagar Br.	(6·48)
Maratha	(6·60)	Bengali Pod	(7·80)
Telugu Non-Br.	(9·62)	Bengali Kāyastha	(10·38)
Tamil Kalla	(11·00)	Orissa Br.	(11·86)
Bengali Br.	(11·92)	Khos	(11·95)
Rajput	(12·48)		

(8) *Malve Br.* and

Rajput	(4·26)	Chit. Br.	(5·27)
Telugu Br.	(6·44)	Tamil Kalla	(7·22)
Bengali Pod	(7·40)	Maratha	(7·54)
Desastha Br.	(7·82)	Audich Br.	(10·46)
Iluva	(10·60)	U.P. Br.	(11·46)
Sāraswat Br.	(11·76)	Nair	(12·97)
Bhil	(13·24)	Orissa Br.	(13·69)

(9) *Nagar Br.* and

Bania-Jain	(1·10)	Kathi	(4·10)
Audich Br.	(5·58)	Brahma-Kshatri	(6·13)
Kanarese Br.	(6·48)	Desastha Br.	(8·54)
Bengali Kāyastha	(10·46)	Maratha	(11·57)
Sāraswat Br.	(12·14)	Chit. Br.	(12·24)
Khos (Chitral)	(12·65)		

(10) *Nambudri Br.* and

Nair ..	(2·31)	U.P. Br. ..	(6·30)
Telugu Br. ..	(6·56)	Telugu Non-Br.	(9·70)
Tamil Br. ..	(10·43)	Sāraswat Br. ..	(13·25)

(11) *Orissa Br.* and

Sāraswat Br. ..	(8·11)	Bengali Pod ..	(8·19)
Maratha ..	(8·22)	Telugu Br. ..	(9·78)
Desastha Br. ..	(11·79)	Kanarese Br. ..	(11·86)
Tamil Kalla ..	(12·18)	Chit. Br. ..	(12·84)
Tamil Br. ..	(13·28)	Malve Br. ..	(13·69)

(12) *Sāraswat Br.*

Kanarese Br. ..	(1·20)	Tamil Br. ..	(1·32)
Prabhu ..	(2·69)	Telugu Br. ..	(4·26)
Bengali Pod ..	(4·46)	Karada Br. ..	(4·88)
Chit. Br. ..	(6·11)	Desastha Br. ..	(6·60)
Nair ..	(7·32)	Orissa Br. ..	(8·11)
Audich Br. ..	(8·38)	Rajput ..	(8·78)
Tamil Kalla ..	(8·89)	Maratha ..	(8·97)
Khasi ..	(9·40)	Iluva ..	(10·24)
Bengali Kāyastha	(10·73)	Bengali Br. ..	(11·16)
Brahma-Kshatri	(11·67)	Khos ..	(11·70)
Bania-Jain ..	(11·73)	Malve Br. ..	(11·76)
Nagar Br. ..	(12·14)	Nambudri Br. ..	(13·25)

(13) *Tamil Br.* and

Sāraswat Br. ..	(1·32)	Tamil Chetti ..	(4·28)
Kanarese Br. ..	(4·72)	Telugu Br. ..	(5·96)
Nair ..	(6·39)	Bengali Br. ..	(7·40)
Bengali Pod ..	(8·28)	Bengali Kāyastha	(8·34)
Telugu Non-Br.	(10·18)	Nambudri ..	(10·43)
Tamil Kalla ..	(12·85)	Chit. Br. ..	(13·04)

(14) *Telugu Br.* and

Telugu Non-Br.	(0·20)	Tamil Kalla ..	(3·26)
Nair ..	(3·66)	Sāraswat Br. ..	(4·26)
Iluva ..	(5·56)	Kanarese Br. ..	(5·84)
Tamil Br. ..	(5·96)	Malve Br. ..	(6·44)
Rajput ..	(5·96)	Kanarese Br. ..	(6·44)

Nambudri Br. ..	(6·56)	Bengali Pod ..	(6·68)
Chit. Br. ..	(7·99)	U.P. Br. ..	(9·04)
Desastha Br. ...	(9·07)	Orissa Br. ..	(9·78)
Tamil Chetti ..	(10·28)	Audich Br. ..	(10·80)
Maratha ..	(12·08)		

(15) *U.P. Br.* and

Nambudri Br. ..	(6·30)	Nair ..	(7·72)
Rajput ..	(8·21)	Telugu Br. ..	(9·04)
Pathan ..	(10·62)	Malve Br. ..	(11·46)
Red-Kaffir ..	(11·64)	Bengali Pod ..	(13·92)

(16) *Iluva* and

Telugu Non-Br.	(5·30)	Telugu Br. ..	(5·56)
Tamil Kalla ..	(5·76)	Bengali Pod ..	(7·00)
Sāraswat Br. ..	(10·24)	Malve Br. ..	(10·60)
Chit. Br. ..	(12·83)	Tamil Br. ..	(13·94)

(17) *Tamil Kalla* and

Telugu Non-Br.	(2·54)	Telugu Br. ..	(3·26)
Chit. Br. ..	(5·74)	Iluva ..	(5·76)
Bengali Pod ..	(6·17)	Desastha Br. ..	(6·76)
Malve Br. ..	(7·22)	Rajput ..	(7·95)
Maratha ..	(8·13)	Sāraswat Br. ..	(8·89)
Nair ..	(10·59)	Kanarese Br. ..	(11·00)
Audich Br. ..	(11·24)	Orissa Br. ..	(12·18)
Tamil Br. ..	(12·85)	Tamil Chetti ..	(13·01)

(18) *Kathi* and ..

Nagar Br. ..	(4·10)	Brahma-Kshatri	(4·52)
Bania-Jain ..	(6·32)	Bengali Kāyastha	(11·06)
Audich Br. ..	(11·65)	Khos ..	(11·75)
Tadjik ..	(14·18)	Bengali Br. ..	(14·29)

(19) *Bengali Kāyastha* and

Bengali Br. ..	(1·49)	Tamil Br. ..	(8·34)
Kanarese Br. ..	(10·38)	Nagar Br. ..	(10·46)
Sāraswat Br. ..	(10·73)	Khos ..	(10·76)
Tadjik ..	(10·82)	Kathi ..	(11·06)
Bania-Jain ..	(12·65)		

(20) *Maratha* and

Desastha Br.	(0·35)	Chit. Br.	(1·07)
Prabhu	(1·21)	Karada Br.	(3·02)
Audich Br.	(3·56)	Bengali-Pod	(6·53)
Kanarese Br.	(6·60)	Malve Br.	(7·54)
Rajput	(7·80)	Tamil Kalla	(8·13)
Orissa Br.	(8·22)	Sāraswat Br.	(8·97)
Kunbi-Patidar	(9·63)	Bania-Jain	(9·75)
Nagar Br.	(11·57)	Telugu Br.	(12·08)

(21) *Nair* and

Nambudri Br.	(2·31)	Telugu Br.	(3·66)
Telugu Non-Br.	(5·00)	Tamil Br.	(6·39)
Sāraswat Br.	(7·32)	U.P. Br.	(7·72)
Rajput	(8·40)	Bengali Br.	(10·21)
Tamil Kalla	(10·59)	Tamil Chetti	(11·46)
Pathan	(12·13)	Bengali Pod	(12·48)
Malve Br.	(12·97)		

(22) *Bengali Pod* and

Sāraswat Br.	(4·46)	Tamil Kalla	(6·17)
Maratha	(6·53)	Telugu Br.	(6·68)
Desastha Br.	(6·69)	Iluva	(7·00)
Malve Br.	(7·40)	Chit. Br.	(7·46)
Rajput	(7·73)	Kanarese Br.	(7·80)
Orissa Br.	(8·19)	Tamil Br.	(8·28)
Audich Br.	(9·16)	Khos	(12·09)
Nair	(12·48)	U.P. Br.	(13·92)

(23) *Rajput* and

Malve Br.	(4·26)	Chit. Br.	(5·45)
Telugu Br.	(5·96)	Bengali Pod	(7·73)
Maratha	(7·80)	Audich Br.	(7·81)
Tamil Kalla	(7·95)	Desastha Br.	(8·02)
U.P. Br.	(8·21)	Nair	(8·40)
Sāraswat Br.	(8·78)	Khos	(11·55)
Pathan	(12·24)	Kanarese Br.	(12·48)
Tamil Br.	(13·29)	Red-Kaffir	(13·72)

		'Previous' Figures (Averages)	Dr. Guha's Averages C.I.	Difference	'Previous' Measurements (Averages)	Dr. Guha's Averages N. I.	Difference
1	Bania-Jain ..	78·52	80·58	+2·06	76·30	70·26	−6·04
2	Brahmin Bengali ..	*78·89	78·93	+0·04	*70·89	67·71	−3·18
3	Do. Chitpavan ..	*77·41	77·49	+0·08	*76·99	73·27	−3·72
4	Do. Desastha ..	*77·09	78·36	+1·27	*79·73	73·41	−6·32
5	Do. Kanarese ..	77·00	79·34	+2·34	75·80	71·20	−4·60
6	Do. Nagar ..	79·70	81·38	+1·68	73·10	69·05	−4·05
7	Do. Nambudri ..	*a*76·30	72·51	−3·79	*a*75·50	72·28	−3·22
8	Do. Orissa ..	*b*77·10	77·31	+0·21	76·80	70·46	−6·34
9	Do. Sāraswat ..	*79·08	77·42	−1·66	*75·15	71·18	−3·97
10	Do. Tamil ..	*76·55	77·36	+0·81	76·70	71·92	−4·78
11	Do. U.P. ..	*73·29	72·48	−0·71	*74·88	69·56	−5·32
12	Kāyastha, Bengal ..	*78·30	80·84	+2·54	*70·78	68·11	−2·67
13	Maratha	78·30	78·71	+0·41	80·10	72·42	−7·68
14	Nair	*74·44	74·18	−0·26	76·70	72·37	−4·33
15	Prabhu	*80·00	77·23	−2·77	*76·18	71·54	−4·64
16	Pod	77·70	77·13	−0·57	76·10	71·81	−4·29

N.B.—(1) 'Previous' Measurements, except when with an asterisk, are taken from Risley's work.

(2) * indicates figures taken from my work, *Caste and Race in India.*

(3) '*a*' indicates figures taken from River's *Todas*, p. 708.

(4) '*b*': Sashan Brahmin.

(5) It must be mentioned that in spite of the criticisms made against Risley's measurements, as for Bengal Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis has found them to be accurate within a very small margin of error.

FOUNDATION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE AND VIDYĀRAṆYA'S PART THEREIN

BY S. SRIKANTAYA, B.A., B.L.

(*Continued from Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1 & 2, p. 107*)

IV

Contribution of the Sringeri Maṭha to the Great South Indian Confederation of the Hindus

DESCRIBING the condition of South India in the early fourteenth century when, after the inroads of Allauddin Khilji into the South, the Muhammadan stood as arbiter for a time, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the well-known historian of the South Indian kingdoms, says that they soon recovered, thus marking a period of Hindu progress in all directions. For, Hinduism then assumed its present shape. Religion was readjusted to the requirements of the masses. Classical Sanskrit as well as indigenous literature received considerable patronage. Administration was highly organised. Revivalism in religion and reinvestigation received a great impetus. When Muhammadan invasions broke in overturning everything, local reaction led to the foundation of a large and united Hindu Empire.[339]

As V. A. Smith says: "The influence exercised by Rāmānuja and other southern sages on the whole country from Cape Comorin to the recesses of the snowy mountains is the best evidence of that inner unity of Hindu India which survives the powerful disintegrating forces set in motion by diversity in blood, manners, customs and political allegiance."[340] In spite of political upheavals, the spirit of India always guards a common heritage and there is an amazing unity in her diversity. Indian culture is wide spread all over the country and

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[339] *His. of South India*, Vol. I; Sewell, *F. E.*, p. 64; Bego, *S. K. I.*, pp. 143–51; Beveridge, I, p. 91; V. A. Smith, *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 300.

[340] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

in the words of Sir Frederick Whyte (The future of the East and West), the greatest of all the contradictions in India is that over this diversity is spread a greater unity, which is not immediately evident because it failed historically to find expression in any political cohesion to make the country one, but which is so great a reality, and so powerful, that even the Musalman World of India has to confess that it has been deeply affected by coming within its influence.

Mr. Longhurst says that according to most authorities, about 1336, Harihara and Bukka founded Vijayanagara, immediately on the disappearance of the Hoysalas from the stage of history. They were, probably, subordinates of or connected with the Hoysalas and were aided in their enterprise by the head of the Sringeri Maṭha, who became the first minister of the new state.[341]

Sewell refers to the possibility of the oldest shrine at the ruins of Hampe being used by a succession of religious recluses one of whom was Vidyāraṇya, whose actual existence at the time is attested by every tradition regarding the origin of Vijayanagara.[342] Foreign travellers who visited the famous city and have left written records of their impressions, even where they differ regarding the relationships of Harihara and Bukka with other ruling families, nevertheless refer to Vidyāraṇya's contribution to the foundation.[343]

The emblems on the coins of the Vijayanagara dynasty indicate a complete revival of the old Hindu religion and its recognition as a state religion. The coins of the earlier kings bear distinctly Śaivite emblems unlike the later ones having Vaiṣṇava devices.[344]

In his account of the Vijayanagara Empire, Rice recalls the assistance rendered by Vidyāraṇya, the celebrated scholar Mādhava, in the foundation of the Empire, as agreed to by

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341 *Hampi Ruins*, p. 11; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Ins.*, pp. 207–08.

342 *F. E.*, p. 20.

343 Rice, *Mysore*, p. 344.

344 *Q. J. M. S.*, III, p. 9.

all accounts. The capital was named after him, in honour of the sage who was chiefly instrumental for it. The Hindu kingdoms had fallen a prey to the Muhammadans and the brothers took advantage of the period of commotion arising out of the rash measures of Muhammad Taghlak. Mādhava may have contributed besides experience and talent, financially towards this undertaking. For, the gurus of the Sringeri Maṭha were at that time, according to Wilson, apprehensive of the increasing number of Jangamas and the approach of the Muhammadans. Their wealth and influence were consequently placed at the disposal of Harihara and Bukka.

Though Harihara and Bukka are generally credited with the foundation of Vijayanagara, with the financial assistance, perhaps, and advice of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda of Sringeri, as we have set out previously, Ballāla III must have participated in the foundation, even if he were not primarily responsible for it. The great veneration in which the Hoysala Emperors were held by the Vijayanagara rulers, long after the dismemberment of the Hoysala dominions and the firm establishment of Vijayanagara, lends remarkable support to this view. The famous Keśava temple at Belur commanded the devotion of Harihara II, who in the very first year of his reign, 1380, confirmed the former Hoysala grants to the temple.[345] The Belur god, among other things, raises up the poor to royal dignity. Hoysala kings were illustrious and Viṣṇuvardhana was illustrious, according to this inscription of the Vijayanagara ruler. Thus, the Vijayanagara kings, true to the teachings of Vidyāraṇya, fostered a spirit of toleration, the basic principle of the old Vedic religion.[346]

We are told that Vidyāraṇya or the gurus at Sringeri rendered considerable assistance, financial and otherwise, in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire.[347] Numerous

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345 Rice, *Mys. Cog. Ins.*, p. 226.

346 *Q. J. M. S.*, III, p. 9.

347 *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 63; *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, pp. 340–41; Elliot, *Coins*, p. 91.

inscriptions relate the story of Vidyāraṇya and describe his influence with the early Vijayanagara kings; historians and travellers record the traditions they heard in this behalf; but the actual references to the part played by the Sringeri Maṭha as such, as distinguished from Vidyāraṇya are not many and if we exclude those that refer to Vidyāśankara, it will be found that the contribution of the Sringeri Maṭha except through these great personalities of the period is not much. Besides, except that the Sringeri Maṭha was founded by Sri Śankara, very little is known about its religious or secular activities till the beginnings of Vijayanagara. Its importance and rise to fame is contemporaneous with the foundation of the great Empire, and may be considered sufficient to warrant the general inference regarding contribution of its gurus in the origin of the edifice which preserved the religion and the *Dharma* of the Hindus.

As regards the rulers that may have joined in this great Hindu confederation, we have described in great detail and stated clearly (1) that the people of Deogiri may have sympathised, with much reason, with the movement, though that kingdom itself was a Muhammadan province, (2) that in 1328 the Anegondi Rājya was a part of the Delhi Sultanate, (3) that Ballāla had been obliged to surrender Bahauddin and (4) that the Kākatiya kingdom had been lost to the Hindus.

Kanya Nāyak of Wārangal is alleged to have been carrying on negotiations with Ballāla III about 1328, when the latter convened a meeting of his kinsmen and arranged for fortifying the forts of the country. If Harihara and Bukka were under Ballāla at the time and took a prominent part as his viceroys, their reputation for founding the Empire is confirmed by historical circumstance. If they were prisoners of war and were later on released by the Sultan to fight Ballāla in the South, then there was no South Indian organisation as alleged. I have fully dealt with this aspect before and I am now assuming the position taken up formerly that Harihara and Bukka were Hoysala feudatories, perhaps also related to them, and joined in the foundation of the Empire.

Why should the gurus of Sringeri have associated themselves with this political movement of the Hindu Rājas ? Two reasons have been suggested, one, the fear of the Muhammadan and the other, the increasing number of Jangamas (the ascetics of the Lingayat community) in the country. Amongst others may be mentioned the following :—

1. When Śrīrangam was captured and sacked by the Muhammadans in 1327, the God was taken for refuge, followed by Pillai Lokācārya.[348] On the occasion of the Muhammadan occupation, fearing the temple in danger, the Ranganātha deity was removed ultimately to Tirupati. Vedānta Desika himself was a refugee at Satyamangalam.[349] Srī Vaiṣṇavas, no less than the Smārthas, were afraid of Muhammadan hegemony and were anxious to join in an all-Hindu confederacy to drive the Muhammadan from South India. Vedānta Desika, though he externally championed Vaiṣṇavism against Śaivism and its great leader Vidyāraṇya, was internally opposed to heretics and anxious to protect Hinduism itself.[350]

2. The followers of the Dvaita or Madhva school of Hindu thought likewise associated themselves with Vidyāraṇya sinking, for the time, their sectional differences.

3. The statesmanship and political foresight of Vidyāraṇya was assisted by his friendship with the leaders of other religious schools of thought and his supreme influence at the court of the Vijayanagara rulers was of great aid in the accomplishment of this remarkable undertaking.

Vidyāśankara

The most outstanding reference to Vidyātīrtha or Vidyāśankara is to be found in the Sringeri inscription of 1346.[351] Bukka became great with the assistance of Vidyātīrthamuni.[352] His grace helped Bukka to become king and sole lord.[353]

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348 *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 111.

349 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

350 *Life and Times of Vedanta Desika*, V. Rangachari, p. 278.

351 *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1.

352 Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 11.

353 *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46, 1377.

In the *Mysore Archæological Reports for* 1928, published by the Mysore University, a narrative of the teachers of Sringeri is given. The account is taken from *Guruvamśa kāvya*, a Sanskrit work composed by Lakṣmaṇa Śāstri, son of Viśveśvara Śāstri, under the orders of Saccidānanda Bhārati (1705–1741), a disciple of Nṛsimha Bhārati Swāmi. Dr. Krishna considers the work to be of considerable biographical value and as recording a faithful account of all available traditional information regarding the Jagadgurus of Sringeri. It is said to have been subjected to a critical examination, before publishing the summary.[354] According to this account, Vidyātīrtha or Vidyāśankara was learned in all the śāstras and expert in *tantra* and *mantra*. The younger of the two sons of a learned Brahmin left Wārangal, having no taste for worldly pleasures, set out on a pilgrimage and reached Sringeri in the course of a pilgrimage, where he was initiated by Vidyāśankara, as Bhārati Kṛṣṇa. Mādhava followed, in search of him, and reached Sringeri a few years afterwards. Admiring his learning, Vidyāśankara initiated him into the *sanyāsa aśrama* as Vidyāraṇya.

Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar in *M. A. R.*, 1916, refers to Vidyātīrtha, as perhaps the greatest name in the list of the gurus at Sringeri. For, he secured a high status for the Maṭha, and was specially honoured and revered by the early Vijayanagara kings owing to his sanctity and learning. It was likely, Harihara and Bukka were helped by him in the foundation of their Empire.[355] There are also images of Vidyātīrtha in Sringeri, in the *Cinmudra* (teaching) pose.[356]

He is praised in another inscription of 1356, as Lord of the Ascetics, surpassing the Sun by his ability to remove both the internal and external darkness of men both day and night. When Bukka visited him to pay him homage, he granted extensive lands. Likewise, in the Sringeri Kadita of 1380,

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354 See pp. 15–20 ; 35–55.
355 P. 15.
356 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

he is referred to with reverence, along with others.[357] When Bukka wanted Vidyāraṇya to return from Kāśi to Vijayanagara, he got an order from Vidyātīrtha.[358] When a temple, a most beautiful type of Hoysala architecture, was constructed at Sringeri to his memory, on the occasion of the consecration ceremony, vast lands were granted.[359]

No doubt, there are some discrepancies regarding dates. According to tradition, the consecration of the temple was in 1338 ; the Bithragunta grant suggests it was after 1356 ;[360] *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1, implies the existence of Vidyāśankara in 1346. If there could be two sanyāsis at the same time, only one of them occupying the pontifical office, of which there is evidence, there is nothing improbable in the inscriptions referring to both of them, or either of them.

The greatness of Vidyātīrtha is described in another inscription of 1386. " None of the four kinds of speech, *parā*, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikarī*, is capable of adequately describing the greatness of Vidyātīrtha. "[361] " The swan Bukka sports happily near the lotus Bhāratitīrtha which having sprung from Vidyātīrtha (the water of learning), possesses the fragrance of joy from a knowledge of non-dualism and expands by the rays of the sun Vidyāraṇya. "[362]

Prof. Venkateswara considers that Harihara and Bukka must have made homage at Anegondi to Vidyātīrtha who was the guru at Sringeri at the time, according to epigraphical evidence.[363] Bukka was a worshipper at the lotus feet of Vidyātīrtheśa.[364]

This Vidyātīrtha is said to have been known as Śrīkaṇṭha before he became a sanyāsi.[365] He was a disciple of

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357 *M. A. R.*, p. 56.
358 *Ibid.*, p. 57.
359 See also, *Q. J. M. S.*, VIII, p. 18 *in tra.*
360 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 23.
361 *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 58.
362 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
363 *New Lights*, p. 7.
364 *M. A. R.*, 1908 and 1915.
365 *Ep. Ind.*, III, 23.

Paramātmatīrtha. According to Prof. Venkateswara, Vidyātīrtha, Bharātitīrtha and Śrikanṭha refer to the same individual guru who was also known as Vidyaśankara.[366] He further considers his secular name as Sarvajña Viṣṇu, son of Sāraṅgapāṇi. Sarvajña Viṣṇu had another brother called Chennu bhaṭṭa. He refers to *Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha* and *Tarkhaśa Vyākhya* and *J. R. A. S.*, 1916, in support of his inference, and considers Sāyana's reference to Sahaja Sarvajña Viṣṇu Bhattopādhyāya in *Śankara Darśana* strengthens it.[367]

If the Vijayanagara kingdom came to Bukka from a glance of his,[368] the greatness of the guru is undoubted.

This guru is said to have been born at Bilvāraṇya. He was the son of Sāraṅgapāṇi. His dates are 1296–1384. He was also called Sarvajña Viṣṇu, Vidyānātha, Vidyāśankara, Vidyeśa and by several other names. He is said to have lived for seventy-three years at Kancī, made penance for fifteen years at the foot of the Himalayas as an *anucara* of Śankara, and later revived Sringeri where the Lingayat influence was affecting the Maṭha. He was the guru of Mādhava, Bukka and Bhārati yati. He was also called Abhinava Śankara. According to a more literal interpretation of the text without the colophons, Śankarānanda will be a disciple of Vidyātīrtha, and afterwards becomes navamatinatha and navaśankara, thus adding to the confusion of the names already existing.[369]

An inscription of Harihara II S. 1304 praises Bukka I and refers to a grant made with the permission of Harihara 'who was a bee at the lotus feet of Triyambaka and the pupil of the teachers Kriyāśakti (and) Vidyāraṇya.'[370] Several inscriptions refer to one Rājaguru Kriyāśakti, spiritual preceptor of Bukka,[371] Harihara[372] and Devarāya,[373] of Vijayanagara.

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366 *New Lights*, p. 11.
367 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
368 Yd. 46.
369 *Punyaślokamanjari*, 51-52.
370 *A. S. I.*, 1925–26, p. 137.
371 *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281.
372 *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256.
373 *E. C.*, XI, Dg. 23.

Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiya deals in detail with this subject of Rājaguru Kriyāśakti in an exhaustive article contributed to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*,[374] and I shall have occasion to consider it later on. But I have mentioned it here because, a Mulbagal inscription engraved on the wall of a temple says that when a guru Kriyāśakti went to heaven, Bukka II made a gift of lands to his guru who had now taken the form of Vidyāśankara. This was in 1389 A.D.[375] While Mr. R. Narasimhachar considers this gift to have been made for the image in Sringeri,[376] Dr. Venkatasubbaiya considers it to have been for Kriyāśakti. Mr. Narasimhachar's suggested identification of Kriyāśakti with Vidyātīrtha is not accepted by him. There is a view that the reference may be to Vidyāraṇya himself. A study of the image at Hampe would suggest this identification. (See *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 232-235.)

Sāyana and his Brothers

Let us now pass on from Vidyātīrtha to Mādhava and his brothers Sāyana and Bhoganātha. The family of Mādhava is sometimes traced to Pyapali in the Kurnool District. It is said to have been Mādhavācārya's residence for some time and a branch of the Hampe Virūpākṣa Mutt exists there.

Mādhava, Sāyana and Bhoganātha were brothers and they were sons of Māyana and Śrīmatī of Bhāradvāja gotra, Bodhāyana sūtra and Yajus śākha.[377] The brothers were all well disposed towards Harihara and Bukka and with their assistance established the prosperity of the Karnāṭaka kingdom. There is a suggestion that the family name was Sāyana. The sister of the brothers was Singale.[378] Mādhava and Sāyana are described as great ministers.[379] Mādhava was styled Sarvajña, all-knowing.[380]

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374 *E. C.*, VII, p. 157, Intro.
375 *E. C.*, VIII, p. 118, Intro.
376 *M. A. R.*, 1907–08, pp. 15, 55.
377 P. of 1368 A.D.
378 *S. I. I.*, IV, p. 62, No. 267.
379 *A. R.*, No. 38 of 1889.
380 C.P. of 1368 A.D.

The record of S.I.I. above referred to (Vol. IV, p. 62, No. 267) is a noteworthy poetical record of the minister Lakṣmaṇa, during the time of Devarāya I (1406–1418 A.D.). He was a nephew of the famous brothers and himself a poet of great literary merit and the patron of the Kannada poet Madhura.[381] The inscription is on a stone lying on the southern slope of a rock to the north of the Krishna Bazaar which is on the southern side of the Krishnaswami temple in Hampe. Over the inscription within a floral arch are cut, in relief, on the left side a linga on a pedestal underneath a prabhā with the Sun above it. To its right is a standing worshipper and behind him a seated bull with the Moon above it. There are 134 lines in the inscription. The Hoysala imprecatory verse ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿ, etc. begins the record. Then follows the genealogy of the Vijayanagara kings commencing from Sangama. Of the ministers are Mādarasa and Sāyana, the chief ones and their works are praised. Their sister Singale gives birth to Lakṣmidhara. This was written by Dharnoja of Harihara. Mādarasa of the inscription must therefore be Mādhava, brother of Sāyana and later on in his life famous as Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda of Sringeri. The importance of this record will be considered subsequently in discussing the identity of the two Mādhavas met with in the inscriptions and the literature of the period.

As regards Sāyana and Bhoganātha, they, like their brother Mādhava, belonged to the Advaita school of philosophy and the eldest of the brothers was the greatest of all. Sāyana was the author of a number of works and was, besides, a minister. In former times, Sāyana was considered another name for Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya, perhaps a family name assumed by him in his works. Sāyana refers to his elder brother as the hereditary minister of King Bukka in the opening verses of *Puruṣārtha-Sudhānidhi*.[382] Sāyana is the commentator of the *Pūrva* and *Uttara Mīmāmsas* and the expounder of the meaning of the Vedas. Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar gives

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381 *S. I. I.*, p. 136, Dr. Hultzch.
382 *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 319.

details about Sāyana and Bhoganātha in the *Indian Antiquary* for Jan. and Feb. 1916, Vol. XLV, Parts DLXV and DLXVI.

Śrīkaṇṭha was the guru of these brothers as well as of Sangama, whose *narma saciva* (boon companion and minister) Bhoganātha composed the Bithragunta inscription.[383] Sāyana was the minister under Bukka I, Kampana, Sangama II and Harihara II as will appear from the colophons of his various works. He had three sons Kampana, a musician, Māyana, and Singana, a Vedic student. He was regent of the kingdom during Sangama's ministry, and was also his teacher. He was a warrior besides being a great and successful minister.[384] In A.D. 1377 a gift is made, referring to them as donees.[385] He died in 1387.[386]

The Origin of the Story of Vidyāraṇya

I have already referred to the origin and foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and have said that most of the accounts, whether they agree or not with the part played by Ballāla III in its foundation and the relationship of Harihara and Bukka to Ballāla, nevertheless agree in connecting Vidyāraṇya with the beginnings of Vijayanagara. The several traditions recorded by Buchanan culled from *Grāma paddhathis*, inscriptional references from various parts of Mysore and the old Vijayanagara Empire, the accounts of foreign travellers, and literary compositions all go to indicate that Vidyāraṇya Mādhava must have had something to do with the original foundation. Whether he did it himself or by exercising his influence through his guru Vidyātīrtha, that considerable assistance must have been rendered by him appears to have been the general consensus of opinion. It is indeed said that the capital of the Empire was called Vidyānagara in honour of Vidyāraṇya who was responsible for the foundation.

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383 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 23.
384 *M. A. R.*, 1915, p. 89.
385 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 70.
386 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 71,

Rev. Heras enters a *caveat*. In the course of two lectures delivered under the auspices of the Mysore University and since published in book-form he develops his views on this subject. He is a very critical student of history and any remark of his deserves the greatest consideration. He makes a very thorough study of the inscriptions and bases his conclusions on a close scrutiny of the authorities. If I differ from his remarks, I do so with the greatest respect.

Rev. Heras discounts the value of tradition, inscriptional references, accounts of travellers and the name of the capital as Vidyānagara. He further finds the inscriptions bearing on these to be mostly spurious and deliberate forgeries. The story of Vidyāraṇya, that he helped the foundation of the Empire, is connected with the name of Vidyānagara given to the capital: and it presupposes the veracity of the legend of Vidyāraṇya. In dealing with the legendary stories about the foundation of Vijayanagara, he refers to Nuniz's account given by Sewell,[387] to the Kolar inscription,[388] and to the inscription of the Nellore District.[389] He arranges the matter in a tabular form on pp. 5–7 of his book and gives his conclusions therefrom on p. 8. According to him, Nuniz gives a more sober account than what is contained in the Kolar and the Nellore inscriptions which give a more elaborate story of the hare and the dog, thus suggesting a later period for their date. The name of the ascetic is not found in Nuniz and his advice is simple. The other accounts extol Vidyāraṇya; Harihara and his family are praised in the Nellore grant. The Kolar and Nellore grants must have come into existence during the reigns of Acyuta Rāya or Sadāśiva Rāya, subsequent to the chronicle of Nuniz about 1520. Having no authority, Heras thinks, they must be rejected.[390] On p. 9, Heras rejects the value of *Rājakālanirṇaya*, relying on Gopinatha Rao.[391]

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387 *F. E.*, 299–300.

388 *E. C.*, X, Bg. 70.

389 Butterworth, I, pp. 114–15.

390 *Begs.*, p. 8.

391 *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 10.

That not much value could be attached to such traditions and legendary stories is clear from the fact that almost every ruling family has its origin under similar circumstances. The Bahamini dynasty arose on the seizure by a dog of a hare by its tail.[392] So was the origin of the Nāyakas of Tarikere according to Rice.[393] And Heras might have also added that the Hoysalas arose from 'Adam Poy Sala' said to Sala by a *muni*, according to numerous inscriptions and Sala and the mythical tiger borne on their crest, while their original home became Śaśakapuri.

Apart from the story of the dog and the hare, there are also other traditions referring to the devotion of the shepherd Bukka to Vidyāraṇya, and to Mādhava discovering hidden treasure by the aid of the Goddess Bhuvaneśvarī, with which to build the capital, ruling over it and at his death making a gift of it to a Kuruba family.[394]

But Heras concludes after commenting on Suryanarayana Rao[395] that there is no historical fact to support these traditions.

If then it should be said that whatever may be the veracity of the dog and the hare legend, Mādhava may have really contributed towards the foundation of Vijayanagara, on the authority of the inscriptions, Heras here again says that the inscriptions referring to it are not reliable. On pp. 10–19 of his book under consideration, he refers to a few inscriptions.[396]

All these refer to Vidyānagara built by Mādhava, *i.e.*, Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda of Sringeri Maṭha. As for the last one dated 1336 which, if true, would settle the controversy, he considers its authenticity doubtful. The South Indian collections do not refer to it and the Government Epigraphist does not know if it was ever copied and has not seen a facsimile

392 *Ind. Ant.*, XXVIII, p. 218.
393 *Mysore*, II, p. 447.
394 *Begs.*, p. 10.
395 *N. F. E.*, p. 27.
396 *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 79, 1154; VI, Sg. 11, 1652; XI, Cd. 45, 1538; Cl. 54, 1559; VII, Ci, 62, 1565; *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 47, 1652; *N. F. E.*, p. 9, 1336.

of it. Heras may not be quite accurate in saying that Suryanarayana Rao published it for the first time for, as I have already stated in the previous lecture, Buchanan gives it as an account from *Grāma paddhathi*. That Suryanarayana Rao did not draw it from his imagination is certain and, whatever its authenticity or historic value, such a record does, as a matter of fact, now exist though not in the form of an inscription perhaps as set out by Suryanarayana Rao. For the sake of convenience, I shall refer to them both here.

Buchanan

pp. 277–78 (17*th Feb.* 1801)

According to Rāmappa the date is 1335–36. When Daria Soructa cut off Rāmanātha's head and Pratāpa Rudra's kingdom was conquered by the Mlechchas, Harihara and Bukka, guards of his treasury, came to Sri Maha Vidyāraṇya Maha Swami (who according to Rāmappa was guru to the late king and the 11th successor of Śankarācārya on the throne of Sringeri) and solicited his favour. The Maha Swami visited God, and acted according to his orders. In seven years, the whole city was built. In the year *Dātu*, being 1258 of the era of Śālivāhanam (A.D. 1335–36), in the 7th day of the Moon in Vaiśāka, being Wednesday, under the constellation *Mocca*, in *Abhijin Muhūrtha*, and in *Singa lagna*, he took Hucca and Bucca and crowned the former in the year *Kaliyuga* 4437.

Suryanarayana Rao

(*p.* 10)

Nagashwarkāy, Namitasakay Salivahasayayata, Dhaturyabday, Sagunasahitay Masa Vis aki Namny Suklay Pakshay Suraguruyutay Soumya Varay Sulagnay, Saptamyam Sri Vijayanagaray Nirmamay Nerinamandra. *i.e.* On Wednesday, the 7th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśāka, in the year *Dātu*, S.S. 1258, in an auspicious time with Guru (Jupiter) in the rising sign (lagna) I, the prince of ascetics, have constructed this city in Vijayanagara.

(Naga = 8, Ish = 5, Arka = 12 : therefore 1258).

(Nirmamendra in *Guruvamśakāvya*). Suraguruyutay = Sugunapithrubha, in *Guruvamśakāvya*.)

In their essentials, the two accounts tally but it is most unfortunate that nobody else has referred to this inscription, not even Longhurst nor Narasimhachar.

According to the *Guruvamśakāvya* of Lakṣmaṇa Śāstri[397] " when there have elapsed the years measured by 1258 (Naga-ishu-arka) in the Śaka era, in the year *Dhatri*, in the month of Vaiśāka in the bright fortnight, on Sunday, the 7th lunar day with the constellation *Bharaṇi*, Vidyāraṇya laid the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara. " There is an error in date. Week day, *tithi*, and *nakshatra* cannot be reconciled. (For references to Vidyāraṇya-Kālajñāna and other accounts regarding the foundation, see *M. A. R.*, 1932, pp. 110–111.)

In former times, several authorities, including Heras, regarded Mādhava's part in the foundation of the Empire as granted.[398] Now, Heras reconsiders the position and says he was mistaken. He records his objections on pp. 14–17. He thinks, if we grant Suryanarayana Rao's inscription as of doubtful value, and observe that Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya was Mārappa's minister in 1347 at Chandragutti,[399] how could the founder of an Empire be a subordinate of a viceroy at a far off place ? But this argument no doubt presupposes that Mārappā's minister was Vidyāraṇya. Even then, what is there wrong in sending a powerful minister to an important outpost of the Empire, where fresh conquests had to be made ?

Heras next considers that Mādhava could not have been an ascetic and guru at Sringeri about 1336, because in 1346 the guru was Vidyāraṇya's predecessor Bhārati Kṛṣṇa. Further, *E. C.* VI, Sg. 1, does not mention his name at all, while at the festival of Empire, a grant to the Mutt would mention the name of the benefactor. From this it does not appear whether he does not regard the 1346 grant as genuine and that the minister

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[397] *M. A. R.*, 1928, pp. 17, 42.

[398] *Q. J. M. S.*, XIX, p. 23 ; Sewell, I, p. 106 ; *S. K. I.*, *Some Contributions*, p. 309 ; Krishnamacharlu, *Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, 219–221 ; H. Krishna Śāstri, *A. S. I.*, 1907–08, 239 ; Suryanarayana Rao, *N. F. E.*, pp. 9–10.

[399] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

Mādhava referred to in the later inscriptions was identical with Vidyāraṇya. Heras then refers to the visit of Bukka I to Sringeri in 1356, when a grant was made to Vidyātīrtha Śrīpāda[400] and says Vidyāraṇya or his activities at Vijayanagara are not mentioned. Later on, Vidyāraṇya at Kāśi gets the letter of Bukka I requesting him to return to Vijayanagara and also one enclosed by the senior Śrīpāda, which he gladly obeys.[401] Bukka again visits Sringeri with Vidyāraṇya, to whom he makes a grant which, however, does not refer to the assistance rendered to him.[402] Mādhava's excellent qualities are extolled in *E. C.* VIII, Sk. 281, but no reference is made to the foundation.[403] Besides, Harihara II's copper-plates in Sringeri of 1380 which praise Vidyāraṇya, as other inscriptions have eulogised his predecessors Vidyātīrtha and Bhāratitīrtha, do not refer to his part in the foundation.[404] Much less do his copper-plates of 1384 describe it.[405] A *Kadita* at Sringeri which refers to Vidyāraṇya's death at Hampe in 1386 is equally silent.[406] Even Harihara II's grant of 1386, gifting lands to Vidyāraṇyapura to commemorate Vidyāraṇya is silent on this point.[407] An unfinished inscription of Harihara II eulogises Vidyāraṇya as the supreme light incarnate but there is no reference in it to his achievements. Chikarāya his son, from Araga, gifts lands to him without referring to his contribution.

The silence of contemporary records above referred to as regards the alleged work of Vidyāraṇya in the foundation of the Empire, proves, according to Heras, that he could not have had anything to do with it. How absence of reference to Vidyāraṇya's work at Vijayanagara is conclusive on this

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400 *M. A. R.*, 1916, pp, 56–57.
401 *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 3.
402 *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 57.
403 *Cf.* Aufrecht, *Oxford Catalogue*, p. 264.
404 *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 56.
405 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
406 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
407 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

point is not clear. On the other hand, these records suggest the importance of Vidyāraṇya in the administration of the Empire and the necessity for seeking the aid of the Sringeri Matha to procure his services for the Empire. According to Heras the documents that refer to it are of a subsequent date like other 'fabricated lithic records', and therefore, Madhava-Vidyāraṇya's part in the foundation of Vijayanagara and the *abhiṣeka* ceremony of Harihara are 'wholly groundless fables'.[408] He relies on Gopinatha Rao's 'independent' statement that 'Vidyāraṇya who rose to prominence only in the reign of Bukka and Harihara II, cannot be the person who advised Harihara I to construct the city of Vijayanagara.'[409]

Heras, however, concedes the following historical events in the life of Vidyāraṇya. In 1347 he was Mārappa's minister; in 1356 he was at Benares, whence he was sent for to return to Vijayanagara; in 1368 he was mahāpradhāna of Bukka I; by 1380 he had become Jagat-guru;[410] by 1384, his teachings had benefited Harihara II; in 1385, there were lands granted to him by Chikrāya; and in 1386, he died at Hampe. There was a funeral eulogy of his that year. But, he was not guru in 1346 or 1356.

Nevertheless, Heras apparently considers very strong grounds should be put forward to support his change of front and he, therefore, begins to study the origin of the story of Vidyāraṇya. He gives a catalogue of inscriptions from 1336 to 1669 on pp. 19–28 and works up a graph to find out the number of inscriptions giving the name of Vidyānagara to the capital. On looking at the graph to face p. 29, it will be seen that 2 inscriptions each of Harihara I, Deva Rāya II, Virūpākṣa, Narasimha, Vīra Narasimha, Tirumala, Rama II and Ranga III, 3 each of Bukka I and Harihara II, 4 each of Vīra Vijaya and Krishna Deva Rāya, 14 of Acyuta and 23 of Sadāśiva refer to Vidyānagara. The name of the king, location of the

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408 *Beg.*, p. 17.
409 *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 11.
410 Rice, *Mysore*, I, 380.

inscription, and references for verification are given, in chronological order. 196 inscriptions are digested, out of which 31 refer to the ancient name of Vijayanagara and 111 to Vijayanagara while only 54 describe it as Vidyānagara. It may be remarked that they are all inscriptions of the Mysore State, except the following :—(1) 1336. Kunjarkona, *Nellore*, I, p. 114 ; (2) 1379. City of Vijaya, *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, pp. 373 and 376 ; and (3) 1546—47. Vidyānagar, *Nellore*, Butterworth, III, p. 1184. Of these, however, only one inscription refers to Vidyānagara. It may be useful to note a few more inscriptions which refer specifically to Vidyānagara but which may possibly have been overlooked by Heras in these considerations.

1. The following inscriptions refer to Vidyānagara in Butterworth's inscriptions in the Nellore District :

Pp. 1185-86 (*a*) Podili, 27, 1483-84. Sadāśiva on the diamond throne at Vidyānagara.

Pp. 315–16. (*b*) Darsi, 22, 1525–26. Vidyānagara.

P. 1183. (*c*) Podili, 25, 1546–47 (?) Sadāśiva on the diamond throne at Vidyānagara.

P. 1181. (*d*) Podili, 24, 1551–52. Sadāśiva on the diamond throne at Vidyānagara.

2. V. Rangachari's inscriptions in the Madras Presidency give the following :

(*a*) Vol. I, pp. 272–73. Bellary District. Somasundaram, 132, 212 of 1913. Stone, 18-6-1556. Sadāśiva ruling at Vidyānagara.

(*b*) *Ibid.*, p. 273, Yalpi-Kaggallu. 135, 213 of 1913. Sadāśiva ruling at Vidyānagara.

(*c*) *Ibid.*, p. 292, 251, 468 of 1914, 213 of 1913.

(*d*) *Ibid.*, p. 316, 104 of 1913, 213 of 1913.

(*e*) *Ibid.*, p. 316, 105 of 1913, 213 of 1913.

(*f*) *Ibid.*, p. 1148, S. 1444, Vidyānagara.

(*g*) *Report of S. I. Epigraphy*, 1921–22, p. 70, Chingleput. 185 of 1922.

(*h*) *S. I. I.*, IV, p. 40, No. 248–A.R. 199–1889–1545 A.D.
p. 59, No. 265-A.R. 35 of 1889–1545 A.D.
pp. 59–60, 266–1545.

3. In Mysore, the following are overlooked :

(a) *E. C.*, XI, Mk. 5, 1556 stone.

(b) *Ibid.*, VIII, Tl. 152, S. 1373, stone.

(c) *Ibid.*, VIII, Nr. 1-2-4 1566 Nr. 5, 1552
Stone only Nr. 8 mentioned.

(d) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 31 is referred to. It is on the 9th stone.

(e) *Ibid.*, VIII, Nr. 46, 1530. Virūpākṣarāya is the ruler of Vidyānagara. Vidyānanda munīśvara is referred to. Stone.

(f) *E. C.*, XII, Pg. 9, 1559 stone, Sadāśiva at Vidyānagara.

(g) *M. A. R.*, 1912–13, p. 42, 589.

(h) *Ibid.*, 1924, p. 59, No. 65, 1757.

(i) *Ibid.*, 1924, pp. 101–2, No. 111, S 1414.

(j) *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 76.

I must admit an addition of these grants does not add materially to the argument either way. Heras' conclusions based on these inscriptions are summed up on p. 29. According to him, the name of Vidyānagara was little used and unknown during the period of the first or Sangama dynasty. There is only one inscription of the Saluva dynasty—1486 *E. C.* XII, Tm. 54. In the third dynasty, the name is little used at first, but later on its use increases rapidly. The climax began with Acyuta and 23 of Sadāśiva are found. The name was common under the Aravīdu dynasty also.

Before commenting on the later inscriptions, the earlier ones of the Sangama dynasty may be examined. Heras, it must be noted, takes into account only those inscriptions which refer to Vidyānagara, but not those which relate to the tradition that Vidyāraṇya founded the Empire by assisting Harihara and Bukka. Between 1336 and 1486, the inscriptions examined by him are these :

Harihara I, 1336, *E. C.* X, 241. Not genuine. Rice.

Bukka I, 1354, *E. C.* XII, p. 74. Spurious ; because imperial titles are granted to Bukka I, who sits on a jewelled throne a year before Harihara's death.

1370, *E. C.* X, Gd. 46. Great difficulty as regards date. S 1216 is given as Tarana which does not fall in Bukka's reign. Rice.

Harihara II, 1392, *E. C.* VI, Kp. 49. Heras has no remarks to make, but quotes Narasimhachar who considers the genealogy in it unsupported by other inscriptions. Numerous grammatical and orthographical errors. Differs from Harihara's published copper-plates in (1) the arrangement of facts, (2) royal titles and genealogy and (3) in the mode of giving the date. If intended date be S 1302 (1379) there was no solar eclipse during the year while Kartika of Sidharti, a year of solar eclipse, to which it may be made to refer, is too early. (A.D. 1319).[411]

Vīra Vijaya, 1413, *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 30. Date doubtful. Gaps numerous.

Deva Rāya, 1441, *M. A. R.*, 1920, p. 36, Sa. 68. Date doubtful.

Narasimha, 1486, *E. C.*, XII, Tm. 54. Date doubtful.

Vīra Vijaya, 1417, *E. C.*, VIII, Tl. 148. No remarks to be made.

1420, *E. C.*, VIII, Sk. 288. No remarks to be made.

Virūpākṣa, 1468, *E. C.* VIII, Tl. 143. No remarks to be made.

Thus, there are only four genuine inscriptions, if at all, and even they, it is said, should be rejected.[412] Heras considers Vijayanagara to have been the ancient name which perhaps was corrupted into Vidyānagara,[413] for even in Bengali literature Vidyānagara appears only later.[414]

This corruption is suggested to have been due to definite causes and not to be merely philological. Heras thinks it 'was a a deliberate and intended corruption, as the fact of the forgery

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411 *M. A. R.*, 1912–13, p. 42.

412 *Beg.*, p. 31–32.

413 *J. A. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, p. 336.

414 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, III, pp. 261–63.

of several grants connected with the story clearly discloses.'[415] On an analysis of the 54 inscriptions referring to Vidyānagara with reference to their geographical situation, 1 in Nellore, 4 each in Tumkur, Kolar and Kadur, 5 in Mysore, 10 in Hassan and 13 in each of the Chitaldroog and Shimoga Districts are arrived at. 8 more inscriptions of the Mysore State, 6 of Bellary and 4 of Nellore may be added to it. However, Heras considers that Shimoga, Chitaldroog and Hassan surround Kadur, the 'focus of the fable'.[416] He remarks that the forgers 'were shrewd and very well-educated men, who succeeded in spreading their story throughout the Empire and in obtaining the assent of their contemporaries and successors, and even of historians centuries later'. And adds that to prevent discovery of the fraud in the place of its origin and with the object of spreading it throughout the vast Vijayanagara domimions, resort was had to fabricating them in their neighbourhood.[417] What follows may best be given in Heras' own words (*Begs.*, pp. 33–35, S 12) :—

"And now the common legal phrase 'Cui bono', 'in whose profit' is also to be applied to this case. Who was specially interested in the spreading of such a belief in the Kadur District? In the westernmost corner of the district there is the Sringeri Jagir, and in it the Sringeri Math. For the ascetic dwellers of this Math, the story of the foundation of Vijayanagara by one of their former Jagad-gurus would be very profitable. If such a story were once believed throughout the Empire, they could expect any reward they wanted, any lands that they could be in need of any day from the grateful successors of Harihara I, who had, so they said, been enthroned by the great Vidyāraṇya. The fact that this guru had been connected with the imperial family, *viz.*, with Mārappa and Bukka I, gave some historical likelihood to the fable. Moreover, the time of confusion subsequent to the overthrow of the first dynasty, seemed the best time for the propagation

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415 *Beg.*, p. 32.
416 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
417 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

of such a story. Finally, such religious ascetics and recluses psychologically are persons often inclined to fabricate such fables. Their knowledge of what they call absolute reality, acquired only by their practice of asceticism, inclines them to place all other things, whether existing or not existing, whether true or false, on the same level of relative reality. Hence the fabrication of a story which one might derive some profit from—provided no harm should result from the concoction to a third person—is always attractive to such religious recluses.

"Hence it may be concluded that the ascetics of the Sringeri Math fabricated the story of Vidyāraṇya as the founder of the city and Empire of Vijayanagara, in the beginning of the XVI century. And it seems most probable that the fabrication of the whole story and the falsification of a great number, if not of all the spurious grants above referred to was perpetrated during the rule of Ramachandra Bhārati who directed the Sringeri Math from 1508 to 1560.[418] In fact, there is an inscription of the year 1513,[419] recording a grant of his of the village of 'Kudualli belonging to us, in the Melapelu of Vasudhare-sime, which Harihara Mahārāya when he was protecting the kingdom in peace, granted to our Sringeri Math as an offering to Vidyāśankara.' This Vidyāśankara is the famous Vidyātīrtha, one of the predecessors of Vidyāraṇya as head of the Sringeri Math. The inscription shows the wish of the Jagad-guru, to show the early relations between the Math and the Emperors of Vijayanagara. This was perhaps the first step in this campaign of falsification,[420] the second was to be the story of Vidyāraṇya as the founder of the capital of the Empire."

I am constrained to remark that it is unfortunate that Rev. Father Heras, himself a member of the Society of Jesus and belonging to a world-wide religious organisation, known for the piety, scholarship, learning and reputation of its monks,

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[418] Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 380.
[419] *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 88.
[420] Date of grant doubtful, Rice.

should have thought fit to make a general indictment against the gurus of Sringeri as fabricators and forgers. The relationship subsisting between the gurus of Sringeri and the brothers Harihara and Bukka has already been referred to. Mādhava and his brothers were prominent ministers at the Vijayanagara Court. The members of the Sangama dynasty looked to them for spiritual as well as political support. The five brothers proceeded to Sringeri in 1346, all the way from Vijayanagara, to celebrate the festival of Empire. About 1356, Vidyāraṇya's presence at the Vijayanagara capital was considered so important and urgent that Bukka, afraid whether his own request would be responded to or not, went to Sringeri and desired the senior Śrīpāda to ask Vidyāraṇya to return. In 1368, he was mahāpradhāna to Bukka I and by 1380 he had become Jagad-guru and later on he benefited Harihara II by his teaching. He died at Hampe. Large grants and a funeral eulogy followed. From these facts admitted by Rev. Heras himself, the important place which the Sringeri Maṭha and its gurus occupied in the esteem and affection of the first or Sangama dynasty will be apparent.

Besides, Nuniz about 1535–37 refers to the foundation, advised by the ascetic Vidyāraṇya.[421] This implies the existence of a tradition as an established fact long before his time. Rāmachandra Bhārati would not have been able to give it the sanctity of a tradition in a few years after 1508, the date of his succession. There would be people living who would not perhaps care very much for Sringeri gurus, and followers of other religious faiths as well, who could deny the tradition as a fabrication. Nuniz himself gives a translation or summary of a chronicle he finds in the place. People in the northern outskirts of the Empire would be least likely to countenance such forgeries. When their importance had been amply recognised by the early emperors, it cannot be said that religious recluses, occupying high positions in the temple of learning would be psychologically the very persons who would

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[421] Sewell, *F. E.*, 292-98.

resort to fabrication of records. Such a statement is against natural presumptions and passes one's ordinary comprehension. Also Heras' remark that the philosophy of Śankara which aimed at finding the ultimate Truth was indifferent to the truth or falsity of mundane actions and therefore countenanced fabrication and forgery by Sringeri gurus shows the colossal ignorance of Rev. Heras' knowledge of Advaita and of the high standard of ethics that Śankara set before the Holy Order which he founded.

I shall now take you through some of the most important inscriptions referred to by Heras.

1. *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 79, 1154 ? A.D. Signature is Śrī Vidyā. It is in rough Nāgarī characters (Aryākṣara). It is a copper grant in the Kudli Math. Doubtless, the date is not correct and it has to be properly verified. But what is the tradition to which it refers ? and is that also false, assuming the grant to be spurious ? ಶ್ರೀ ವಿದ್ಯಾನಮುಸ್ತುಂ. See lines 10-11 and 33 which are as follows :—

l–10 ಶ್ರೀ ವಿದ್ಯಾನಗರೇ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಿತಮೂಹಾ

l–11 ಭೂಮಂಡಲಾಧೀಶ್ವರೋ ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯಮುನೀಶ್ವರೋ ವಿಜಯತೇ
ಗಂಗಾಧರಪಾತುವಃ

l–33 ಶ್ರೀ ವಿಜಯಶಂಕರಭಾರತೀ ಗುರುಭಟ್ಟಾಚಾರ್ಯ ವಿಶ್ವರೂಪಾರ್ಯ.

Rice says it is very difficult to make any connected sense or translation out of this inscription. But from the paleographic evidence, what was the date of the record ? This śāsana of Śrī Śankara says—having established a great ruler in Vidyānagara is Vidyāraṇya munīśvara. It besides refers to Rudra śakti.

2. *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 11, 1652. Nāgarī characters. The opening portion is written first in Sanskrit and then in Kannada. It is a copy of a copper-plate, written in palm-leaf in the possession of Kudli Shambhatta in Vidyāraṇyapura Agrahāra. It is dated Nandana, Bhādrapada, Monday, lunar eclipse. S 1574. I shall only give a translation. Formerly, the guru of our line, author of the Veda Bhāṣya, Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda, out of charity to the world, through the boon obtained by virtue

of his penance from Virūpākṣa dwelling on the banks of the Pampa, having founded Vidyānagara for the protection of cows, gods, and Brahmans performed the coronation anointing of Harihara Mahārāya on the throne.

After which, at the time when the Rājādhirājā Parameśvara, a Sun to the water lilies the race of hostile kings, Vīra Pratāpa Harihara Mahārāya was protecting the Karnātaka kingdom in peace and wisdom he made petition at the feet of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda in regard to the *Dharma pīṭha* established by Śankara. A maṭha and an agrahāra were established and made over to the feet of Vidyāraṇya Bhārati Svāmi.[422] In his introduction to Vol. VI of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Rice refers to this record, to Vidyāraṇya helping Harihara and Bukka in the foundation of Vijayanagara, to his brother Sāyana being minister of Sangama II, to the establishment of the Maṭha at Sringeri and the endowments made to it, and to the foundation of Vidyāraṇyapura.[423] Let us compare with this record another one of the year *Vijaya*, *Jyeṣta Su.* 13, 1653–54 A.D. by Śivappa Nāyaka of Keladi to the Sringeri Svāmi of the time. It recounts the grants by Harihara onwards, inspects the *Kaditas*, examines the stone inscriptions and finds out the limits of the Jaghir. The accounts of the shanbhogs are verified and corrected. Likewise, from time to time, the Sringeri grants have been subjected to close scrutiny.

The reasons for rejecting *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 11 are not clearly forthcoming. If the facts narrated in this inscription be true, the veracity of the tradition contained in *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 79 will be confirmed.

3. *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 45, 1538. It is a stone inscription of the time of Acyuta Rāya in *Viḷambi*, *Kartika Su.* 5, on the southern side of Dyavamma's temple in a village and contains 34 lines. Lines 6 to 8 refer to the circumstance that Harihara built

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[422] See Rice, *E. C.*, VI, pp. 361–73.

[423] *Ibid.*, Intro., pp. 23-24.

Vidyānagarī and set up in the name of Vidyāraṇya by the order of the Pampa Virūpākṣa Linga in the Kuntala deśa.[424]

4. *E. C.*, XI, Cl. 54, 1559. It is another stone near Biradevaru in a village, recording a gift of lands. It repeats the previous inscription regarding the foundation. Here, Hoṭṭeya Nāyaka makes a grant to Venkatia, son of Lingappa.

It is difficult to say how the Sringeri gurus would have thought of profiting by the grants and why the donors consented to record this false story in the inscriptions. Where was the need to consult them at all? The suggestion will perhaps be that the scribes were bought over. To engrave on a stone, in temple premises, involves great publicity, far greater than in the case of a copper-plate. That the tradition was accepted as true at the time must, therefore, be taken. The only argument would then be, perhaps, that the Sringeri gurus had succeeded in establishing it, during the decades preceding the grants.

5. *E. C.*, VII, Ci. 62, 1565. This copper-plate also repeats the tradition of the previous records.

6. *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 47, 1652. See pp. 46–47. Copper-plate grant. It is copy on a palm-leaf. Repeats the tradition and restores the grant to Sringeri at the instance of Keladi Śivappa Nāyaka. Certain lands are also given to others.

There is no inherent improbability in these grants. No defects going to the root of their genuineness are traced in most of them. We shall, however, pursue our survey of the inscriptions on this subject. Leaving out of account, inscriptions regarding the name of Vidyānagarī given to the capital, to which we have already adverted, we shall concentrate our attention on the records which describe the part played by Vidyāraṇya or the gurus at Sringeri in the foundation of the Empire. In respect of the 'Vidyānagara' inscriptions we

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[424] 6, 7 & 8. ಪಂಪಾ ವಿರೂಪಾಕ್ಷಲಿಂಗ ನಿರೂಪದಿಂ ವಿದ್ಯಾರಂಣ್ಯ ಶ್ರೀಪಾದಂಗಳ ನಾಮಧೇಯದಿಂ ಶ್ರೀ ಹರಿಹರರಾಯರು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆಯಾಗಿ ವಿದ್ಯಾನಗರೀ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಕ್ಕೆ ಕರ್ತರಾದ

shall only observe, most of them bring no gain to Sringeri and that some inscriptions (like *E. C.*, V, Bl. 5 for instance) are to be found in Śrī Vaiṣṇava temples.

1. *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46, 1376 A.D. Bukka became very great with the assistance of Vidyāraṇya. 5 sheets ; copper-plate.[425]

2. *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 30, 1378 A.D. Stone inscription in Viśveśvara temple ; records a grant by Vidyāraṇya on the occasion of the solar eclipse and is attested by witnesses.

3. *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 33, 1408. Copper-plate. When Vitthanna Odeyar was governing the Araga kingdom, records a grant of 5 villages in Santalige Nad in the presence of the god Vidyāśankara, to the god Vidyāśankara.

4. *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 34, 1386 A.D. Stone inscription. It records that Ballālla Rāya's grants are continuing. The grants of Harihara are renewed by his grandson, the cultivator of Karnātaka learning (through) Vidyāśankara of Sringeri to Vidyāśankara Deva Vodeyar.[426]

5. *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 44, 1451. For maintaining Vidyāśankara.

6. *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1, 1346. Stone. Rev. Heras does not doubt the genuineness of this inscription. He draws interesting and important conclusions from it.[427] Rice in *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* regards it as one of the earliest known inscriptions and genuine and undoubted.[428] In his introduction to Vol. VI of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, he digests this and several other inscriptions. Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar refers to it and summarises also the Sringeri inscriptions.[429] Thus, though Bg. 70–1336 which states how the site of Vijayanagara came into existence, may not be relied

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[425] Rice, Intro., pp. 23–24.

[426] ಶ್ರೀ ಶೃಂಗಗಿರಿ ವಿದ್ಯಾನಗರ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ವಿದ್ಯಾವಿಳಾಸ ಉತ್ತರ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಪೂರ್ವ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಸಮುದ್ರಾಧಿಪತಿ.

[427] See *Begs.*, pp. 15, 92, 104 and 111.

[428] P. 111.

[429] *M. A. R.*, 1916, pp. 55–59.

on as the original is not forthcoming, and Mg. 25 owing to the gaps in it cannot be fully made out, Sg. 1–1346 says that after obeisance to Vidyātīrtha, with his form of celestial glory, whose friendship gained is never lost, Harihara having conquered the earth from the eastern to the western ocean, in order to celebrate the festival of his victory, made an excellent grant of nine villages belonging to Kela Nad in Santalige Nad to Bhāratitīrtha Śrīpāda, his disciples and others and 40 Brahmans residing in that Tīrtha of Sringeri for the performance of rites and sacrifice.

7. *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 2, 1602. Stone. Nāgarī characters. To the Sandals of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda do I prostrate, it says.

8. *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 80. Copper-plate, like Sh. 79 referred to a little while ago.

9. *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281 of 1368.[430] Says Mādhava had become incarnate in a holy man for the protection of the world, by order of Bukka accepted the government as far as the western ocean in order to have an oversight of that kingdom without trouble, on the advice of Kriyāśakti. (Does Kriyāśakti refer to Vidyāśankara?) Refers to a grant of a village Vidyeśvarapura, which he purchases under Sk. 282 A.D. 1368.

10. *E. C.*, VIII, Nr. 46, 1530 A.D. Obeisance to Vidyānanda munīśvara. Refers to the assembly of Virūpakṣarāya, Visālakīrti and others. Stone. It is not clear whether Vidyānanda met with in certain manuscripts since published had any reference to this personage, who was the son of Viśālakīrti. It does not appear to have any relation to Vidyāraṇya.

11. *E. C.*, X, Gd. 77, 1505 A.D. Copper-plate. Narasimha was ruling in Vidyānagara formerly constructed by Vidyāraṇya, seated on a jewel throne. It records the grant of an agrahāra.

12. *E. C.*, X, Bg. 70, 1336. Gives the story to account for the foundation. No original is forthcoming and copy cannot be taken to be authentic, says Rice.[431] It may be compared with the Mb. 158, Gd. 46, etc., in regard to the

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430 Intro., pp. 38–42.
431 Intro., XXX to XXXIV.

tradition of the foundation, Vidyāraṇya's part therein, and the genealogy of Harihara and his brothers.

13. *E. C.*, X, Mb. 11, 1389 A.D. Stone inscription engraved on the wall of a ruined temple. It also refers to a copper śāsana relating to Vidyāśankarapura.

14. *E. C.*, X, Mb. 158, 1344 A.D. Copper-plate. Names the engraver and recounts the story of the foundation as in Bg. 70.

15. *E. C.*, XII, Kg. 43, 1380. Copper-plate. Nāgarī characters. Vidyābhuṣaṇa Dīkṣita gets a gift of land from Harihara II, on the Kalyaṇa Hill, who names it after his guru Vidyāraṇya.

16. *E. C.*, XII, p. 4, 69 ; Mi. 83, 11 ; Ck. 10, Tp. 1 ; p. 75 give the origin of the Vijayanagara kings, most of them in the florid composition of Sabhāpathi.

We have completed our survey of the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and shall now refer to the archæological reports since published.

1. *M. A. R.*, 1907–08, p. 14, S. 54. It refers to an incomplete copper grant received from the inam office, where the third verse describes Harihara son of Bukka, who was the worshipper of the lotus feet of Vidyātīrtheśa, in S 1308 granting a copper śāsana to three scholars, in the presence of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda. Reference is also made to a former grant of Chikrāya in Araga in 1381 A.D.

2. *M. A. R.*, 1915, pp. 57–58. A copper-plate kept in the Krishnarajapet Taluk Treasury is similar to *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46, 1377, and refers to the origin of the story as before. Sāyana and his son Singana are the first donees.

3. *M. A. R.*, 1916. Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar refers to 12 copper plates in the Maṭha, 12 sanads, and 500 palm-leaf manuscripts.[432] Of these, three belong to Harihara II dated 1384, 1386, 1397 and two to Devarāya dated 1432. A copy of a copper-plate is also found in the *Kaditas* preserved in the Maṭha. The earliest *Kadita* is dated 1380. Interesting details of former grants which are confirmed by Harihara II

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[432] P. 17.

in the presence of Vidyāraṇya are given. Of these, (a) Harihara's visit with his brothers to Sringeri in 1346 and references to Sg. 1, (b) Bukka's arrival in Sringeri to pay homage to Vidyātīrtha and references to the stone inscription of 1356, (c) Bukka's writing a letter to Vidyāraṇya requesting his return to Vijayanagara, enclosing the senior Śrīpāda's letter to him; on his return taking him to Sringeri and granting lands, and (d) Chikrāya's grants, and others are detailed and confirmed by a copper śāsana.

There are, besides, three sets of copper-plates of Harihara II.[433] (a) 1384 A.D. Genealogy of Harihara is given and of his conquests and then it is said by the grace of Vidyāraṇya Muni he acquired the empire of knowledge unattainable by other kings. (b) 1386. Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya and Bhāratitīrtha are praised. Vidyāraṇya, according to the argument of the learned, is the supreme light incarnate.[434] (c) 1397.[435] These clearly show the position occupied by Vidyāraṇya in the Empire of Vijayanagara.

4. *M. A. R.*, 1928, pp. 15–24. Harihara and Bukka at Hampe saw Vidyāraṇya and, receiving his blessings, established their sovereignty over the Deccan. Vidyāraṇya was responsible for grant of lands to Sringeri and Mārappa carried the news.

5. *M. A. R.*, 1929, No. 90, pp. 159–72. C.P. The paleography and language free from suspicion. Hedase grant 11–2–1347. Bollarasa (of *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 6) prepares under Mādhava's orders. Kriyāśakti teacher of Mādhavamantri referred to.

6. *M. A. R.*, 1931. The photo of the Vidyāśankara image (Plate VII), 1½ feet high, in Yoga Mudra, would suggest that the image at Hampe referred to (*Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 233) may not be that of Vidyāśankara (*Ibid.*, p. 265). Dr. Krishna suggests (p. 14) Vidyāraṇya must have been a Karṇātaka and Vidyāśankara perhaps a Coli.

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433 *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 58.
434 *Ibid.*, see pp. 58–60.
435 *Ibid.*, see pp. 58–60.

7. *M. A. R.*, 1932. See Plate IV (2). A man who is being devoured by a crocodile praying to a linga identifiable, possibly, with Śankara (p. 11) in the light of known Śankara legends.

P. 77. Dr. Krishna says that the great mediæval Hindu Empire of Karṇātaka was due to Hindu effort to defend their homes from further Muslim inroads. It was called Karṇāṭaka from the spoken language of the people. The foundation, he says, is traditionally but incorrectly ascribed to Vidyāraṇya.

Vidyāraṇyakālajñāna: pp. 100–26. (See *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 267–68.) The details in this work are said closely to resemble the details given in *Rājakālanirṇaya* and *Sivatattvaratnākara* as well as the *Guruvamśakāvya*. The conclusions to be arrived at are: (i) Vidyāraṇya is different from Mādhava, brother of Sāyana, (ii) Harihara and Bukka were guards in the treasury of Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal and were serving under Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kampili or Kummaṭadurga, (iii) Harihara and his brothers defeated the Hoysalas, (iv) Kriyāśakti was a disciple of Vidyāraṇya and (v) Vijayanagara was founded in 1336 A.D.

In reviewing the *M. A. R.* for 1932 I stated that I expected to refer to these in detail in my articles on the 'Foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire'. As these matters have been discussed in the course of these lectures, it will be sufficient to set out the salient details mentioned in *Vidyāraṇyakālajñāna* itself. Dr. Krishna does not agree with Mr. Gopinatha Rao's disparaging view of *Rājakālanirṇaya* (p. 102). There is considerable resemblance between *Vidyāraṇyakālajñāna* and the narrative by Nuniz and according to Dr. Krishna, it is a genuine and standard native traditional account. According to Vidyāraṇyakṛiti, when Vidyāraṇya, disciple of Vidyātirtha, was in a cave on the Mātunga Hill, with the tantras he rebuilt the city of Vijaya. Later, when Sāyana and Māyana went to him and begged for offspring, he told them to publish works after Sāyana and Mādhava. Apart from the difference between Māyana and Mādhava, let us pursue the story. As we have observed in other accounts, we find Vidyāraṇya was

the disciple of Vidyāśankara and a follower of Śankara. He was the author of numerous Śastraic works attributed to Sāyana and Mādhava. He was given to much travelling and met Vyāsa at Benares. He brought the Brahmarākṣasi Sringin. He was learned in the mystic lore. Inspired by the God Virūpākṣa, he revived Vijayanagara. At Hampe, he met Harihara and Bukka after their defeat by Ballāla and blessed them with success. Kriyāśakti was a disciple of Vidyāraṇya. Mādhava and Sāyana are two persons in this work but ministers in *Guruvamśakāvya*. On p. 106, Dr. Krishna makes the significant remark that Sāyana and Mādhava only acknowledge Vidyātīrtha and not Vidyāraṇya as their guru. This may be because Mādhava was Vidyāraṇya and Sāyana his brother. Bhāratikṛṣṇa may be a junior or disciple of Vidyāraṇya in the same sense as the two present svāmis of Sringeri were the juniors of Vedamurthi Srikanta Sastrigal prior to their sanyasa. But that Bharatikṛṣṇa was a younger brother of Vidyāraṇya before he became a Sanyasi raises many questions. It will be seen from the sequel that if Vidyāraṇya be Mādhava, Bhōganātha could not be Bharatikṛṣṇa: on the other hypothesis, who are Vidyāraṇya and Bharatikṛṣṇa have not been explained. The younger man taking sanyasa earlier becomes spiritually superior as a svāmi and that is a natural explanation. Apparently, Vidyāraṇya died about 1386 and afterwards his disciple granted an agrahara in the name of his teacher and that was Vidyāśankara. It looks possible that Kriyāśakti was also a disciple of Vidyāśankara and Vidyāraṇya and should that be so the image at Hampe will have explained a great deal in the mystery surrounding the identification of Vidyāraṇya.

The story of the foundation and the date accord with other narratives.

8. *M. A. R.*, 1933. Inscriptions of the Sringeri Jaghir referred to in *M. A. R.*, 1916 (p. 117, No. 2). Stone. Refers to Bukka's visit to Sringeri in 1356 and registers a gift of the value of the rental of 300 varahas. Śri Vidyātīrtha is said to be alive and the gift is to the Śrī Maṭha.

No. 23 shows that Vidyāraṇya was the guru of Harihara II who acquired the empire of knowledge from him.

No. 24. Vidyāraṇyapura grant. (See *M. A. R.*, 1916.) Vidyāraṇya is the sun by whose rays the lotus Bhāratitīrtha expands. Bukka I respected all the three gurus. Dr. Krishna on the basis of this grant regards Vidyāraṇya to have died at Sringeri, the tradition about his death at Hampe being a later invention. The explanation is unsatisfactory and no reasons are given. (See p. 146.)

No. 33. 1381 A.D. refers to grants to the Maṭha and to an invitation by Bukka to Vidyāraṇya at Benares with a *nirūpa* from Hiriya-Śrīpādangal.

9. *M. A. R.*, 1934: No. 25 registers gift of lands under orders of Harihara II to Nārāyaṇa Vājapēyi and two others in the presence of Śrī Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda in connection with commentaries on the four Vedas. Thus Vidyāraṇya could not be Kriyāśakti. That Bukka was influenced by the gurus of Sringeri and Mādhava and Sāyana is attested by several inscriptions (*E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46; *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256, etc.). *M. A. R.*, 1908, p. 14 refers to a similar grant. Harihara II is also the establisher of the path of the Vedas and in *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256, those three scholars are mentioned along with Sāyana.

No. 37. A stone inscription of Vidyāraṇya himself. 29–1–1386.

On pp. 141 2 of *M. A. R.*, 1934, will be found all the inscriptions of Vidyāraṇya published or noticed so far.

(*a*) Ulaybettu stone inscription 14–6–1375. *M. E. R.*, 1929, p. 45.

(*b*) Kudupu stone inscription 25–10–1375. *M. E. R.*, 1929, p. 44.

(*c*) *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 30, 11–6–1378. Stone. Bhaṇḍigaḍe.

(*d*) *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 19, 2–11–1377. Stone. Nāgalāpur.

(*e*) Kapīlpur C.P. 1336. Butt: *N.I.*, Vol. I, p. 109.

(*f*) Bestarahalli C.P. 1336. *E. C.*, X, Bp. 70.

(*g*) Mudeyanur C.P. 1344. *E. C.*, X, Mb. 158.

(*h*) Hosur C.P. 1370. *E. C.*, X, Gd. 46.

[(*e*) to (*h*) generally regarded as spurious. But concerning

the traditions recorded by them, Krishna Sāstri finds support from other genuine records and from literary and other evidence.]

(*i*) Sringeri Kadita : Harihara II. 1380. *M. A. R.*, 1933, p. 211.

(*j*) Sringeri C.P. Harihara II. 1384. *M. A. R.*, 1933, p. 132.

(*k*) Hosahalli C.P. Harihara II. 1384. *J. B. H. S.* (Bombay), Vol. I. No. 2, p. 1.

(*l*) Inam Office C.P. Harihara II. 1386. *M. A. R.*, 1908, p. 14.

(*m*) C.P. Sringeri Harihara II. 1386. *M. A. R.*, 1933, p. 138.

(*n*) Ramachandrapura Matt C.P. Devaraya 12–2–1450. *E. C.*, VIII, *Nr.* 67.

Having dealt with the traditional and inscriptional accounts, let us now proceed to literary references connecting the origin of the Empire with Vidyāraṇya.

According to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, a body of learned men with Mādhavacārya and Sāyana, at the instance of Bukka I, set to work upon committing to writing various works on Vedic religion.[436]

In the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, Bukka is said to be ruling from the city of Vidyānagara while a tank Bukka samudram is formed in the Nandyal Province south of Vidyānagara.[437] In *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* by Nandi Timmanna, Vidyāpura is mentioned.[438] Rājanātha Kavi's *Acyutābhyudayam* refers to Vidyāpura.[439] Vidyāpuri and Vidyānagari are found in *Varadāmbikapariṇayam* of Tirumalāmba,[440] and *Svara-nada-kalana-nidhi*.[441] *Śivatattvaratnākara* by Keladi Basavabhūpāla, completed about 1709 A.D. gives the account of the origin of Vidyānagara by the sage Vidyāraṇya and the succession of its sovereigns from the time of Vidyāraṇya

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[436] *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 2–4.

[437] *Ibid.*, p. 46, No. 56, p. 178 ; pp. 321–22, No. 73.

[438] *Ibid.*, p. 106, No. 35.

[439] *Ibid.*, p. 108, No. 36.

[440] *Ibid.*, pp. 170–72, No. 54.

[441] P. 190, No. 58.

as well as the length of each reign.[442] *Chicka Devaraya Vamśāvali* of Tirumalārya[443] refers to Vidyānagara.

I have also referred previously to *Rājakalanirṇaya* which agrees with Nuniz's account of the tradition. There is a hint by Prof. Venkateswara that Vidyātīrtha may have handed over treasures and royal appurtenances to Harihara to furnish the capital.[444] 'Through the influence of Vidyāraṇya, the kingdom of Anaikhondi was established.'[445] *Koyilolugu* is a record of gifts made and repairs and additions effected to the temple of Śrī Ranganātha from the earliest times and is in Tamil prose. We there find that by the influence of Vidyāraṇya, Vijayanagara grew in importance.[446] In an article on the *Augustan Age of Telugu Literature*, G. R. Subramiah Pantulu says that traditions are tolerably well agreed (Wilson, *Cat. of Mac. Coll.*, 83 referred to) as to the individuals responsible for the foundation and mentions Vidyāraṇya.[447] Kittel writes an article on old Kanarese literature in the columns of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1875. There he identifies Pampāpura with Vidyānagara.[448] Likewise, Fleet refers to a stone inscription of A.D. 1552–53 where occurs Vidyānagara, though he considers it a corruption of the purer word.[449] In writing on the religion of the Vijayanagara house, C. R. Krishnamacharlu refers to traditional beliefs attributing the creation of the Empire and construction of the capital to Vidyāraṇya, with approval.[450] Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sāstri refers to *E. C.* VI, Sg. 1 relating to the visit of Harihara I and his brothers in 1346 to Sringeri and remarks :

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[442] Pp. 194–95, No. 59.

[443] Pp. 302–03, No. 92.

[444] *New Lights*, p. 10.

[445] Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 103, note 2.

[446] *Ind. Ant.*, XL, pp. 131–44 at p. 139, by K. V. Subrahmanya Iyer.

[447] *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 247.

[448] *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 18–19. See No. 7-8-9.

[449] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

[450] *Ibid.*, XLIV, pp. 219–21.

"This grant seems to bear out the traditional connection claimed in later records for the teachers of the religious institutions at that place with the rise of the new Empire and the foundation of the town of Vijayanagara. The joint donation indicates the undivided interest of the teachers in the building up of the new kingdom." [451]

With reference to *E. C.*, X, Bg. 70 and Butterworth, *Nellore*, I, p. 109 ff, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVIII, pp. 89–91, Krishna Sāstri's remarks are equally noteworthy. "Some suspicious copper-plate records describe Harihara I, a chief of Kunjarakona and attribute the foundation to the help and advice of Vidyāraṇya, then performing a penance at Hampe and give Ś. 1258 for his coronation. It is not improbable that in this year Harihara I actually made an attempt to declare his independence and in order to secure that object befriended a teacher of the Sringeri Maṭha. The date of the two copper-plates might thus be granted to be genuine—being based upon tradition—though the records on them may not be beyond suspicion.[452]

Of the stone records referring to Vidyānagara, and they are at least 46, we may say that stone records of India mostly stand in very conspicuous places, whose preparation and erection entail a great amount of publicity and the connivance of many more persons, including at least village officials, than those interested in the successful accomplishment of a fraud.[453] We must also remember that grants were made by the kings on some auspicious occasions and probably recorded on palm-leaves at the time, to be permanently engraved later on stone or copper-plates, by the scribes. Discrepancies in dates may be due to this or scribe's devils.

It will thus be seen that forgeries of inscriptions by the Sringeri authorities under Rāmacandra Bhārati Svāmi or at any other time have not been established. The story

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[451] *A. S. I. Report*, 1907–08, p. 237.
[452] *Ibid.*, p. 239, F. N.
[453] *Ind. Ant.*, XXX, p. 212.

of Heras cannot be corroborated in so far as the Jagad-gurus are concerned, at all events.

A general study of the inscriptions and the purpose of the several records will clearly show that the Sringeri gurus or one of them Rāmacandra Bhārati had nothing to do with the forgeries alleged. The Sringeri Mutt did not profit by it. From Harihara and his brothers, in 1346 the gurus of Sringeri got nine villages belonging to Kelanad in Santalige Nad.[454] In 1355, Bukka I came to Sringeri to visit Vidyātīrtha, possibly after the death of Harihara I, and on that occasion made a grant. The value of a part of the first grant was 502½ gadyanas ; and Bukka's grants amounted in 1355 to 425½ gadyanas ; a part of one and two together total 928 gadyanas. Out of this, on the occasion of the consecration of the Vidyāśankara temple, *vṛttis* were created and given away of the value of 600 gadyanas. The remaining was applied for maintenance and worship of various kinds. Later, when Śrī Vidyāraṇya returned on receiving the *nirūpa* of the senior Śrīpāda and the request of Bukka. In his presence at Vijayanagara, Bukka directed Mādarasa to give the grant in person which he had decided upon. The value of it was 222½ gadyanas. Again, when Chikrāya was installed at Araga, a grant was made of the value of 424–9 including a land grant of 202½ and cash. The distribution of 600 gadyanas value of land in 120 *vṛttis* in detail are also to be found in Harihara II's copper-plate in addition to the above information.[455] In the Vidyāraṇyapura copper-plate grant of 1387,[456] to the mahājanas, details of the donees are given for the distribution of 500 gadyanas worth of land. It was made at Vijayanagara on the occasion of the departure from this world of Vidyāraṇya.[457] In 1389 there was a further grant under a stone inscription by Harihara II, made in the presence of the god Vidyāśankara at

[454] *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1.
[455] C.P. 1380–81, Ś. 1303, Roudri.
[456] Ś. 1309.
[457] Ś. 1311–1389 A.D.

Sringeri. This was made to the mahājanas with the consent of the Śrīpāda and its value was 225 ġadyanas. All these grants together, including what is contained in *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1, will be roughly 3,000 gadyanas. These parts were called *mūru sāvira sīme.* The grants of Tippu Sultan of Mysore also refer to it. Devarāya's grants of Kanguvalli in 1430 and of Manjungani in 1432 are the next ones of importance. That of 1430 gives the details of the distribution of lands and there is no tradition in it to regard it as spurious, though it is a copy of a grant. Harihara's copper-plate of 1380–81 confirms the previous records and the prefatory verse refers to Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya and Bhāratitīrtha in the order in which I have mentioned. The Vidyāraṇya grant naturally has a great eulogy of the guru. In 1515 A.D. Krishnarāya requests the guru's presence at Hampe and on that occasion grants Huyyaru in Barakuru Rājya and in the same year gives a *nirūpa* to one Triyambaka by which the latter is told that the gurus of Sringeri were in possession and enjoyment of several villages from time immemorial and is warned not to meddle with them. By a grant of 1545 A.D. Sadāśiva at Vidyānagarī gives Bastihalli village.[458] The Keladi family of the Lingayat community renew and confirm the grants and add to the existing ones. A letter of 1653–54[459] refers to the old grants of Harihara and his successors at Sringeri. Two letters of 1661–62 and 1663–64 refer to Śrīmaṭha. In the times of the Santebennur Palyagars, a letter of 1785–86 refers to Vidyānagara. Then, coming on to the times of the Mysore Rājas, a letter of 1753–54 refers to Śrīmaṭha.[460] References to Vidyānagara are to be found in a number of them.[461] Haidar Ali Khan's

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458 Writer Honnappa Nayaka.

459 Vijaya.

460 See also *Nirūpas* of 1760–61, 1762–63, 1779–80 (Haidar), 1809–10.

461 (1) Letter 1759–60 ; (2) 1760–61 C. P. ; (3) 1770–76 letter not dated ; (4) 1806–07 ; (5) 1810–11 ; (6) 1811–12 (4) ; (7) 1813–14 ; (8) 1814–15 ; (9) 1828–29 (3) ; (10) 1829–30 ; (11) 1830–31 ; (12) 1833–34 ; (13) 1834–35 ; (14) 1851–52 ; (15) 1852–53 ; (16) 1853–54 ; (17) 1855 ; (18) 1855–56 ; (19) 1856–57 ; (20) 1858–59 ; (21) 1859–60 ; (22) 1860–61 (2) ; (23) 1861–62 (2) ; (24) 1862–63 ; (25) 1865–66 (2) ; (26) 1867–68.

letters also refer to it.[462] In 1792–93, Tippu Sultan requests the guru of the Mutt to pay a visit to him and in another letter describes him as Jagad-guru who is always praying for peace, for safety for all. Glad that the Guru was coming to the capital, he writes to say that the palace is his and he is welcome.[463] In 1795–96, Tippu is proud of three things: the blessings of god Iśvara, of the gurus like the Sringeri Śvami and ready weapons of war. Success is attended by the blessings of the great. Letters from 1806–07 to 1867–68 invariably refer to Vidyānagarī as Adirājadhāni and it is further interesting to observe that the gurus of Sringeri are Karṇātaka Simhasana pratishtāpanācāryas, and also Śrīmat Vidyāśankarapāda-padmārādhakas in most of the later grants and letters which are used in the place of the praise of Vidyāśankara in the inscriptions. Hence "The influence exercised by mutts as centres of learning on the religious and other literature of the country cannot be denied. The varied and well-known contributions made thereto by the famous Vidyāraṇya Śvami of the Sringeri Śāradā Mutt, or under his auspices, are among the most conspicuous examples of this kind. There is scarcely a branch of learning considered by Hindus as important, to which Vidyāraṇya or the scholars whom he gathered round him, did not make valuable contributions, and it is to his commentaries that the modern world owes its knowledge of the traditional meaning of the oldest of the sacred books—the Ṛg-Veda. Nor has the influence of the Mutts (at other places) on the Dravidian literature been inconsiderable....(The Śvāmis) as a whole were men of learning and piety, who adequately ministered to the spiritual wants of the community, and even now the heads of some of those Mutts enjoy the esteem of the community and continue to serve, more or less, the purpose intended."[464] The gurus of Sringeri continue to enjoy in an ever-increasing degree the regard and esteem,

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462 1777-78.

463 1793-94.

464 1904, *I. L. R.*, 27 *Madras* 435 at pp. 438–39 per Sir S. Subrahmanya Iyer, C. J.

as we have shown, of all classes of people and it could not be said that any one of them was a party to a forged grant.

V

Vidyaraṇya's Part in the Foundation of the Empire

From the preceding considerations, it follows :—

(1) that Sringeri was in the territories of the Hoysala Ballālas,

(2) that Vidyātīrtha, Bhāratitīrtha and Vidyāraṇya were all influential in their day in the affairs of the maṭha,

(3) that, from all accounts, Ballāla III with the help of his kinsmen and perhaps of the Kākatiya Kṛṣṇa Nāyak as well as with the assistance of others tried his best to establish the Hindu religion and *dharma* freed from the devastating outrages of the Muhammadans,

(4) that leaders of other religious schools of thought co-operated in this endeavour, and

(5) that Harihara and Bukka and their other brothers and relations were all devoted to Sringeri.

Huge land grants and money endowments were made from the time of the earliest Vijayanagara kings to the Sringeri Maṭha, which developed into a state within a state. Assuming that it was felt that Ballāla was getting very old and weak, that his son was a minor, necessitating a regency under Ballappa, himself a relation of Harihara, it is not unlikely that Ballāla III had realised the turn of events and, in the abundance of his patriotic motives, had marked out Harihara and Bukka as coming men. This will explain their appointment as mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras and their great influence in the Kuntala country. It is further probable that heads of religious institutions also advised this course.

The great solicitude of the rulers of Vijayanagara and their anxiety to secure Vidyāraṇya's presence at the capital coupled with their influencing the senior Śrīpāda to send a *nirūpa* to Benares enjoining him to return confirm the great

and important part played by Vidyāraṇya in the foundation of the Empire.

When Vidyāraṇya, in the course of his search for his younger brother, at last arrived in Sringeri where the latter had been initiated as an ascetic by the name of Bhāratitīrtha, and succeeded in being himself also initiated on account of his learning, he is said to have shown his *Veda Bhāṣya* and other works to Vidyāśankara who thereupon, commending it, advised him to obtain the opinions of distinguished pandits from all parts of India.[465]

The actual date, if the event be true, when Vidyāraṇya first came to Sringeri in search of his brother from Wārangal, cannot be found out. But it will have to be fixed prior to the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. The accepted date for the consecration of Bhāratitīrtha is 1328 and Mādhava may have followed his brother about this period. After his own initiation, Vidyāraṇya left Sringeri with the *Veda-Bhāṣya* for Benares. On his way, he appears to have met a Brahmarākṣasi near the Vindhya range and reported the matter to Vyāsa at Benares. Under his instructions, he returned to Hampe to obtain release from the Brahmarākṣasi. This is parallel to the story recorded by Buchanan for the conversion of Bittideva into the Vaiṣṇava religion. It may possibly be that the Hndu pandits at Benares felt alike the position of Hinduism as against the all-embracing creed of Islam and confabulated on the best means of reviving the religion. Curiously enough, there is a figure of Malayāla Brahmarākṣasa alleged to have been brought by Vidyāraṇya to Sringeri, undertaking to feed the Brahmarākṣasa to its heart's content. The deity is to be propitiated before anything is done at Sringeri. North of the Janārdana temple in that place is a shrine of Śakti Gaṇapati and Vāgīśvarī, considered the favourite deities of Vidyāraṇya.[466]

Any religion requires peace in the country, toleration from other religionists, and patronage by the king to thrive.

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[465] *M. A. R.*, 1928, pp. 16, 39.

[466] *Ibid.*, 1916, pp. 16, 20.

Vijayanagara was getting fortified and was developing into a great bulwark against Muhammadan aggression in the South. Ballāla could not have been quite unknown to Mādhavacārya, for near his ancient capital was the Sringeri Mutt where his brother was initiated. One may perhaps even go to the length of suggesting that the Wārangal ruler may have sent Mādhava's younger brother to Sringeri, finding his own position unsafe, in order to arrange for the protection of the Hindu religion. The brothers were hereditary ministers to the Vijayanagara kings: that they were not very poor Brahmans as stated in the *Guruvamśakāvya* may be accepted.

A person is not consecrated as a *yati* for the asking; more particularly for the guru *pīṭha* at Sringeri, he will be tried and put on probation a long time; and his credentials will be examined and very closely scrutinised. Hence, it follows that the date of the arrival at Sringeri may have been far earlier than the date of consecration.

The question is asked: if Mādhava was initiated at Sringeri how did he go to Benares or undertake political work at the Vijayanagara Court? If Sāyana was Bhārati Kṛṣṇa, was consecrated in 1328 and was pontiff at Sringeri in 1346,[467] how do you reconcile these with the inscriptions according to which (1) he was the minister of Bukka I, Kampana, Sangama II and Harihara II, (2) he had three sons, (3) he was a regent during Sangama's ministry, (4) he was his teacher and (5) was warrior and a great and successful general? If Bhoganātha be said to be the pontiff referred to, you find him composing the Bithragunta grant and described as boon companion and minister, *marma saciva* of Sangama II in 1356.[468] Therefore, the statement in a *Kadita* of 1380 in Sringeri recording the initiation of Bhoganātha as Bhāratitīrtha cannot be accepted.[469] As regards Mādhavacārya himself, besides this account taken from *Guruvamśakāvya*, there are numerous

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[467] *E.C.*, VI, Sg. 1.

[468] *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 23. *Narma Saciva* may also mean private secretary, not merely boon companion.

[469] *M.A.R.*, 1916, pp. 57, 95.

inscriptions which refer to him, subsequent to the accepted date of his consecration in 1331. If the explanation be that consecration does not imply headship of the pontifical office but only the date of initiation, then whoever was Bhārati Kṛṣṇa had only five years 1328–33 during which he was without office, for the *samādhi* or liberation of Vidyāśankara or Vidyātīrtha took place in 1333 A.D.[470]

Ārādhana for prominent gurus takes place in Sringeri, except for Śrī Vidyāraṇya. The reason assigned is that though ordained at Sringeri as a guru of that *pīṭha*, he spent most of his time elsewhere. In the *Puṇyaśloka Manjari* of the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha of Kāncī, it is stated that Śrī Vidyātīrtha established nine Maṭhas for the propagation of the Advaita faith of which one was at Hampe and that Vidyāraṇya was nominated as head of that Mutt which still exercises spiritual jurisdiction over Bellary, Kurnool, Kadapa and parts of Hyderabad. This implies the importance of Vidyātīrtha at the Vijayanagara Court and the necessity for having the foremost exponent of Advaitism in his day at the capital. Perhaps, it also accounts for the part played by Vidyāraṇya in the earliest days of the Vijayanagara Empire. It will also be noticed that behind the Virūpākṣa temple in the Hampe ruins is a shrine containing a seated figure of Vidyāraṇya in the teaching pose, 1½ feet high, on a spot said to be the site of his *samādhi*.[471]

Guruvamśakāvya records a story of Vidyāraṇya in which Dr. Krishna finds nothing incredible. Mādhava was a little dull and, following the advice of a woman who prevented him from committing suicide for the sake of his dullness, he continued to worship the goddess of learning and became a very learned man.[472] If between 1328 and 1331,

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	Consecration	Liberation
Vidyāśankara or Vidyātīrtha	1228	1333
Bharati Kriṣṇa Tīrtha	1328	1380
Vidyāraṇya	1331	1386

471 *M. A. R.*, 1920.

472 *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 16.

he was at Sringeri with the *Veda-Bhāsya* and other works which brought forth admiration for his learning from Vidyātīrtha, he must have been cured of any dullness he may have had very many years previously. His brother himself before arriving at Sringeri had visited the sacred places of India. There is no sequence in the account as given to infer its correctness. Sangama seems to have been a king of Hampe at this time. Two of his sons Harihara and Bukka were under Pratāpa Rudra. They were captured but they effected their escape and were recaptured. The Sultan pleased with their valour released and sent them to rule over the Deccan. After crossing the river Kṛṣṇa, they had to encounter Ballāla in battle and, being defeated, they fled for safety. Eventually, they succeeded in reaching Hampe. After seeing Vidyāraṇya there and receiving his blessings, they led their army against Ballāla and, having conquered him in battle, established their sovereignty over the Deccan.[473] Meanwhile, Mādhava and Sāyana, ministers of Harihara and Bukka, visited Vidyāraṇya[474] and prayed for progeny. The guru said they would have no children but if they published his works in their name, the curse of sonlessness would go. That is how Vidyāraṇya's works are known as Mādhavīya and Sāyaṇīya. Later, on the advice of Vidyāraṇya, Harihara and Bukka strengthened their army, defeated Ballāla and built Vijayanagara,[475] in 1336. When Harihara was crowned, numerous grants were made. The treasury was replenished by a shower of gold. After securing the power of speech to Harihara's son, Vidyāraṇya went to Kāśi a second time, where he established two Maṭhas. On his suggestion, rich land grants were made to Sringeri and communicated through Mārappa. Vidyāraṇya also cured Bukka of a terrible disease, and, in gratitude, he constructed the Vidyāśankara temple. Bhārati Kṛṣṇa died in the meantime succeeded by Vidyāraṇya. A number of honours and

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473 *M. A. R.*, 1928, p. 16.

474 It may be a mistake for Vidyātīrtha.

475 *M. A. R.*, pp. 16–17.

titles was secured for the Maṭha. Then, Harihara II accompanied Vidyāraṇya to Sringeri. A temple to Bhārati Kṛṣṇa was built and two agrahāras given to learned Brahmins with lands for a living.[476]

With reference to the wars of Harihara and Ballāla, it is unnecessary to add anything to the previous discussions on this subject. Why should the gurus of Sringeri assume a hostile attitude towards the ruler of the Empire and set up far-off Harihara of Anegondi is not clear. If Mādhava brothers belonged to Wārangal and were interested in Harihara, an officer of Pratāpa Rudra, what took them to Sringeri? Their work clearly suggests their anxiety to conserve Hinduism.

The reference to Mādhava and Sāyana approaching Vidyāraṇya for progeny implies Mādhava being different from Vidyāraṇya unless the preceptor be a mistake for Vidyātīrtha. The greatness of Vidyāraṇya is however recognised. The Emperor follows him to Sringeri when the guru returns with honours and titles. From the time of Vidyāraṇya, the pontiff of Sringeri became a Rājahamsa and a Rājaguru, consistent with the royal position which Sringeri occupied, as a state within a state.[477] Dr. Krishna's remarks are noteworthy. According to him, the life of the gurus of the Sringeri Maṭha had taken quite a different turn with Bhārati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha under the influence of Vidyāraṇya. From Sureśvarācārya onwards down to Vidyāśankara, the chief avocation of the gurus was learning and penance. They had no Jagirs, or land endowments to manage, no rituals to observe except self-realisation and no tours to make with elephants, camels, palanquins, flags and other paraphernalia of titles and honours. With the arrival of Vidyāraṇya at Sringeri everything changed. With the money and material secured by Vidyāraṇya for the Maṭha, Bhārati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha caused the temples of Śāradā and Vidyāśankara to be constructed. Besides daily worship, special worship during Navarātri, Śivarātri and other religious festivals began. Endowments were obtained for

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[476] *M. A. R.*, p. 17.
[477] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

these and for feeding. Honours and titles secured created an impression upon the people. Thus, instead of remaining a calm centre of study, contemplation and penance as formerly, the Maṭha became a state with officers to collect revenue and manage its affairs.

The general impression about the condition of the country at this period and the contributions made by the Hindu community to conserve their religion is very well reflected in the literature of the country.

Mādhava and Kriyāśakti

Early Western universities developed from the schools attached to monasteries and cathedrals and owing to their learning attracted students from foreign parts. Ancient Indian universities like Nālanda and Taxila, and the later ones like Navadvīp and Kāncī were likewise great centres of learning. Ṛṣyāśramas and Gurukulas in India have existed from hoary antiquity. Anxiety for learning and the spread of knowledge have taken hold of the human mind from time immemorial. In the earliest days of Indian education, no charter from a king or a religious head was necessary. Every Brahmin was a priest and a teacher to the laymen. Even now, you will find innumerable villages sending for a school master from abroad to train their young.

Besides, kings are always great patrons of learning and have from ages past encouraged education and learning by large grants. Great religious leaders established Mutts which, in due course, developed into vast educational institutions, although emphasis was laid upon the tenets of the particular religious school of thought which was responsible for the foundation in question. A number of institutions existed in Southern India for the promotion of learning. In the fifth century, a Brahmin student Mayūra Śarman went to Kāncī to learn Pravacana, although he later on became a king.[478] The Kadamba king Mukkana founded the University or Agrahāra of Tālgunda (Sthana Kundur) to promote education in his country and brought thirty-two Brahmin

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[478] *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 176 (Talgunda).

families from Kashmir for the purpose.[479] Likewise, the Agrahāra of Kuppatur was the headquarters of the Kāḷāmukha ascetics and was flourishing in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era.[480] The Kāḷāmukhas were a set of Śaiva devotees who came from Kashmir,[481] and they generally carried a staff with them. Dr. Venkatasubbaiya considers some of them followed the Śaivāgama while the others followed the Nakulāgama, as in Kuppatur.[482] In the 11th and 12th centuries, the Kāḷāmukhas held the headships of many Mutts and temples in Mysore and were very flourishing.[483] In these sects, celibates were esteemed better than married men. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the Kotīśvara[484] temple in Kuppatur was a prominent centre of learning as famous as Belgame and the head of the Mutt enjoyed the patronage of kings and viceroys.

The Mūlaguru of the Kāḷāmukhas at least in South India was *Vidyārāsi*. Śakti is a Kāḷāmukha ending.[485] In the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings, we meet a Kriyāśakti who was the teacher or preceptor of Bukka,[486] of Harihara[487] and of Devarāya.[488] He is evidently a rājaguru. A disciple of Kriyāśakti, Mādhavamantri purchases a village and grants it as an agrahāra naming it Vidyeśvarapura.[489] The donees are all Kashmiri Brahmins, following mostly Kathāśākha of the black Yajurveda, and Rājaguru Kriyāśakti is the last Kāḷāmukha name found in the inscriptions.

Difference between Vidyāśankara and Kriyāśakti.

What was the Sringeri Maṭha before Vidyāśankara or Vidyātīrtha ? Was it a Kāḷāmukha stronghold and a Lakulīśa

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479 *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 186.
480 *E. C.*, VIII, Sh. 249.
481 *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 114, 19, 20.
482 *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 176, Saiva Philosophy ; *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 96, 107, 123 ; *E. C.*, V, Ak. 62, Lakulāgama ; *E.C.*, VIII, Sk. 275, 276.
483 *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 177.
484 Is it Kaitabhesvara Temple ?
485 *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 178.
486 *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 1368.
487 *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256.
488 *E. C.*, XI, Dg. 23, 1410.
489 *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 282.

Mutt? Did Vidyāśankara convert it into the modern Sringeri Mutt? *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 126, describes one Lakulīśa about 25-12-1037, as a master of logic and all other sciences, though he was not the founder of that school. If it was a Kāḷāmukha stronghold and a great centre of learning, when and how did it get transformed into the fountainhead of the Advaita school of thought? Sringeri was one of the four places where a Mutt was originally established by Śrī Śankarācārya. Śankara was Ṣaṇmathasthāpanācārya, having established six faiths or schools for the propagation of the tenets of Advaitism, to spiritualise the masses. Reasoning entered religious discussions and *pīṭhas* were established where the mystery surrounding the Mahāvākya was expounded. It is also interesting to observe that in the Maṭhas which Śankara founded, the śaktis Bhadrakāli, Poorṇagiri, Viśāladevī and Śāradā were installed respectively at Dvārakā, Badari, Govardhan and Sringeri.

There is no evidence forthcoming to indicate any relationship between the Sringeri Maṭha and the Kāḷāmukhas, unless it be the grants of the fourteenth century to disciples of Kriyāśakti and some other references of the time from which various inferences have been drawn, to be presently considered.

Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiya in his article on *Rājaguru Kriyāśakti*[490] is of opinion that Vidyāraṇya was Kriyāśakti. The reasons he gives are very important.

1. Kriyāśakti was teacher or preceptor of the kings of Vijayanagara, *viz.*, Bukka I, Harihara II, and Devarāya from 1368[491] to 1410.[492] He was their kulaguru and adviser.
2. He was also the guru of Mādhavamūrti, in 1347.[493]
3. Kriyāśakti, on account of his austerities and refulgence (*tejas*), was God Śiva incarnate and to please Mādhava (*mantri*) gave to the world *Saivāgama Sâra Saṁgraha.*[494]

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490 *Q. J. M. S.*, VIII, pp. 118–36.
491 *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281.
492 *E. C.*, XI, Dg. 23.
493 *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.
494 *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

4. He was a great scholar and promoter of the path of the Upaniṣads, Vedas and Śāstras.
5. He bestowed sovereignty on the Vijayanagara kings.
6. Kriyāśakti was also known by a name that began with Vidyā.
7. His death occurred about the same time approximately as that of Vidyāraṇya. When he died, he took the form of a linga Vidyāśankara.[495] The inscription of 1389 refers to his death in the previous year *Vibhava* 1388 and records a grant of a village to the god Vidyāśankara established there. The village itself was called Vidyāśankarapura. I may observe that it is interesting to find the village called in this manner because the temple in commemoration of Vidyātīrtha or Vidyāśankara at Sringeri was also called the Vidyāśankara temple.

With these inferences drawn from the inscriptions regarding Kriyāśakti, if we should compare the traditional achievements of Vidyāraṇya, we shall arrive at the following conclusions. Like Kriyāśakti Vidyāraṇya was:

(1) the kulaguru and the spiritual as well as temporal preceptor and adviser of the Vijayanagara kings,
(2) a man of great austerities,
(3) a great scholar and promoter of the commentaries on the Vedas,
(4) the person who bestowed sovereignty on Harihara, after establishing the kingdom of Vijayanagara, and
(5) he died in 1386 A.D.

The points requiring explanation before concluding as to the identity of Vidyāraṇya with Kriyāśakti are the following:

(1) Vidyāraṇya's death is 1386; Kriyāśakti's 1388.
(2) Why should Bukka (crown prince) desire to commemorate Kriyāśakti? Was it because like Mādhavamantri, he was also his disciple?

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[495] *E.C.*, X, Mb. 11.

(3) Since the village was given the name of Vidyāśankarapura, may it not suggest that Kriyāśakti was Vidyātīrtha himself?

(4) According to the copper-plates referred to in *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 58, Vidyāraṇya who was at Benares in 1356, came to Vijayanagara at the request of Bukka I, coupled with a *nirūpa* from the senior Śrīpāda and, after several years, when he died at Hampe in 1386, Harihara II gave the Vidyāraṇya grant to the mahājanas at Sringeri.

(5) The *samādhi* or tomb of Vidyāraṇya is in Hampe behind the Virūpākṣa temple, and to these have to be added literary references.

On all these points, Dr. Venkatasubbaiya has very remarkable statements to make. While referring the interested reader to his article for a detailed study, his reasonings may be summarised :—

(1) Bukka had every reason to commemorate Kriyāśakti because he was the family guru who brought prosperity to the country.

(2) Kriyāśakti could not be Vidyātīrtha because the latter died in 1333, at any rate he was not alive after 1356. His death was commemorated by the building of the Vidyāśankara temple about 1338 A.D. Mulbagal 11, therefore, does not lend any inference that Kriyāśakti was Vidyāśankara.

(3) But, since the renaming of the village was as Vidyāśankara, it must be in commemoration of one whose name had a prefix Vidya. This is indeed implied in the suggestion of Mr. Narasimhachar.[496] If we look round, we shall see that the guru of Sringeri having this name approximately, who died about this period was Vidyāraṇya. A difference of two years in the dates given for the deaths of Vidyāraṇya and Kriyāśakti can be explained from the fact that

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[496] *M. A. R.*, 1907–08, pp. 16, 55.

Śaka dates do require correction for accurate verification. Here, I must remark that Vidyāraṇya was guru to Mādhavamantri will also have to be established, before identifying him with Kriyāśakti, for obviously Mādhavamantri could not be Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyana. Much less could he be Vidyāraṇya himself. This fatal objection to the Kriyāśakti theory has not been considered by Dr. Venkatasubbaiya.

(4) Regarding Harihara's copper-plates, their genuineness, he says, has to be proved. Dr. Venkatasubbaiya controverts the statements in the grants from the stone inscriptions. I do not think there are such irreconcilable differences as he makes out. Further, no reasons are given to declare them spurious. What are these inscriptions ?

(*a*) 1386. Grant to three scholars by Harihara II in the presence of Vidyāraṇya because they helped in the commentaries of the four Vedas. Grant is made at his instance and in his presence. Vidyāraṇya must be the Mādhavācārya connected with *Veda-Bhāṣya*. Dr. V. says that Harihara's gift of lands in the presence of Vidyāraṇya, thirty-four days later contradicts its genuineness. Apart from the verification of Śaka dates required for purposes of accurate calculation, supposing it was a kind of grant before death, actually made at the time, but really engraved later on, the scribe putting down the date he wrote on, I do not know how Dr. V. would get over it.

(*b*) Another objection he takes to C.P. of 1386 is that the succession list is here transposed between Bhārati Kṛṣṇa and Vidyāraṇya.

(*c*) The third objection is that the suggestion that Vidyātīrtha was living in 1356 discredits the veracity of the grants relating to Bukka's requests to Vidyāraṇya to return, for on the occasion of the consecration of the temple of Vidyāśankara, in memory

of the guru, he is said to be in existence. *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1, 1346 proves Bhāratitīrtha was the pontiff of Sringeri at the time. There is no gift to Vidyātīrtha which would have been the case were he alive, as the senior and more illustrious of the two. *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 30, 11-6-1378 (stone) mentions Vidyāraṇya succeeding Bhārati Kṛṣṇa.

In this connection, I must observe, with reference to Dr. Venkatasubbaiya's remarks that Mr. Narasimhachar does not say that Vidyātīrtha was alive in 1356.

(5) Dr. Venkatasubbaiya says that the incident[497] relating to Vidyāraṇya, Akṣobyatīrtha and Vedānta Desika is unreliable and we may leave it aside. *Puṇyaslokamanjari*, it may be observed, gives a different version.

(6) Dr. Venkatasubbaiya next subjects to scrutiny Mr. R. Narasimhachar's views regarding the authorship of the commentaries of the Vedas, in arriving at a conclusion that Bhāradvāja Mādhava is Vidyāraṇya.

(*a*) *Tithi-pradīpikā* of Narasimhasūri says *Kālanirṇaya* has been dealt with by Vidyāraṇya and others and according to Mr. Narasimhachar *Kālanirṇaya* is a well-known work of Mādhavācārya. The doctor's comment is that *Kālanirṇaya* in the śloka refers to a subject and not to a book. In any case, tradition is the only connection. However, I must remark, that Vidyāraṇya dealt with it is certain, either as a subject or as a book.

(*b*) Claim for *Vyāsa Sūtra Vṛtti* being based on Vidyāraṇya's verses is said to relate to Mādhavācārya's *Vaiyāsika-nyāya-mālā-vistāra*. This rests on the same tradition as the authorship of the other, says Dr. Venkatasubbaiya.

(*c*) Mādhavacārya's sister's son Ahobala Pandita mentions *Dhātu Vṛtti* and commentaries on the four Vedas

[497] *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XXIV, 1916, pp. 277–312.

as done by Vidyāraṇya, that he established Harihara as king, and that Sarasvatī had incarnated in him. These, however, were the works of Sāyana, son of Māyana, as the introduction and colophon will show. At the most, it will show that Vidyāraṇya was Sāyana. We must remember, says the doctor, that at most it is tradition and it makes Vidyāraṇya, Sāyana and Mādhava appear the same person. According to him, neither Mādhava nor his brother Sāyana had anything to do with the establishment of the Vijayanagara kingdom, and none of these books was written by Vidyāraṇya.

(*d*) *Pancadaśī* ascribed to Bharātitīrtha and Mādhava, *cf.* Rāmakṛṣṇa's commentary and the Sringeri titles of Bhāratitīrtha. Dr. Venkatasubbaiya considers the inference far-fetched.

(7) There is nothing to negative the theory that because of the gift in the presence of the guru, Vidyāraṇya is not identical with Kriyāśakti. Such a thing is not unusual.[498] This does not imply Mādhava to be Vidyāraṇya but only that Vidyāraṇya was the guru of Harihara and was Kriyāśakti.

(8) Dr. Venkatasubbaiya refers to Mādhava's connection with commentaries on the four Vedas and refers to the introduction of the *Ṛk Samhita.* There it is said that Bukka enjoined on Mādhavācārya to publish a commentary expounding clearly the meaning of the four Vedas, that Mādhavācārya said his brother Sāyana knew about the work and he may be asked to do it; on being ordered to do so, the compassionate Sāyana undertook the work. Dr. Venkatasubbaiya says that the guru and *sanyāsi* could not have been ordered about, that an ascetic would not refer to the other of his pūrva-āśrama and that, therefore, Mādhavācārya referred to

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[498] *E.C.*, VI, Kd. 16, 21, 23, 28, 30, 34, etc.

cannot be Vidyāraṇya. But who he is, he does not say.

(9) Harihara II, describes himself as worshipper at the lotus feet of Kriyāśaktideva. For obvious reasons,[499] Mādhavamantri of Āngirasa *gotra* cannot be identical with Vidyāraṇya.

The literary references on which reliance is placed for the identity of Mādhava, brother of Sāyana, with Vidyāraṇya may be summed up and explained :—

(*a*) Mādhava cited by Devirāja in the introduction to his commentaries on the *Nighaṇṭu* is the son of Venkatācārya,[500]

(*b*) Mādhava Deva of *Veda Bhāṣya* consulted by Devirāja is anterior to Mādhava, brother of Sāyana,

(*c*) Mādhavabhatta referred to by Sāyana in *R.V.*, X, 86—1 may be Mādhava of Devirāja.

(*d*) Mādhava referred to by Mahīdhara may be any one of the above,

(*e*) Devirāja is himself anterior to Sāyana, and[501]

(*f*) Mr. Narasimhachar's statement that several scholars helped Mādhavācārya and Sāyana in the composition of the commentaries contained in the copper-plates of 1386.

If we, therefore, says Dr. Venkatasubbiah, exclude the hypothesis of Narasimhachar about Mādhavācārya's contribution and accept the tradition that Vidyāraṇya established the Vijayanagara Empire, that he was the family guru of Harihara and Bukka, that he was noted for his austerities and scholarships, we find all these in Kriyāśakti.

(i) He had a name like Vidyāśankara, Vidyāraṇya, etc.[502]

(ii) Bukka II commemorates Vidyeśvarapura.[503]

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499 *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, *cf.* Banavase Record.

500 See *Punyaslokamanjari*, *Gururathnamāla* and *Śusama*.

501 Nirukta, *Bibl. Ind.*, Edn., I, p. 4.

502 Max Muller, *Rig Veda*, VI, p. XXX.

503 *E. C.*, X, Mb. 11.

(iii) Foundation of an agrāhara Mādhavapura by Mādhavamantri on his death-bed. He is succeeded by Narahari, a disciple of Vidyāśankara.[504]

(iv) Austeries—*tapas* or *tejas*—incarnation of Śiva mark him out as holy.[505]

(v) Author of several works.[506] Prominence by disciples to Vedas, Śūtras and Upaniṣads.

(vi) Connection with royalty—Kulaguru.[507]

Therefore, Vidyāraṇya is Kriyāśakti and a successor of the well-known Vāmaśakti of Kedāreśvara Maṭha at Belgame. But these conclusions of Dr. Venkatasubbaiya do not solve the headship of the Sringeri Maṭha by Vidyāraṇya. It is the fundamental difference in teaching between the Kriyāśakti and Sringeri schools of religious thought that led, among others, Mr. Narasimhachar to consider that Mādhavamantri could not be Mādhavācārya or Vidyāraṇya. The learned doctor attempts to meet this question thus:

"It is believed that Kāḷāmukhas were Agamic Śaivas who placed the authority of the Āgamas above that of the Vedas, while the Sringeri Maṭha is known to be the stronghold of the Vaidik Śaivas, who reject the authority of the Āgamas, and accept the Vedas only as authoritative. This belief about the Kāḷāmukhas does not appear to be entirely justified. In the 11th to 13th centuries, they were in a flourishing condition and practically had a monopoly of the leaderships of the Maṭhs and colleges in the Kanarese country, and were liberally patronised by the ruling kings. As it cannot be seriously argued that Vedic Śaivism was dead or moribund in that period, and that the rulers of that period were accustomed to dispense their patronage to heretics only," we must take it that Kāḷāmukhas did not deny the authority of the Vedas. For, in an earlier period, Vāmaśakti had arrived at the final meeting of the Vedānta and of the *Dharma* Śāstras

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[504] *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281.

[505] 5-4-1931, *J. B. Br. A. S.*, IV, p. 115.

[506] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375 ; VII, Sk. 281 ; X, Mb. 11 ; XI, Dg. 23

[507] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375 ; VII, Sk. 281.

and later on Vāmaśakti II was greater still. Further, even if Kriyāśakti were an Āgamic Śaiva, it cannot be said that his teachings were unacceptable to the Vedic Śaivas, and even Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyer regards *Tātparya Dīpikā* as an important work on the Advaita Vedānta.[508]

Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer, in his anxiety to identify Āngirasa Mādhava with Vidyāraṇya, even if he could not succeed in establishing the identity of the two Mādhavas has not applied himself to this aspect of the question. But, as we have indicated above, however great Kriyāśakti may have been, whatever influence he may have exercised over Bukka and Harihara and however brilliant his disciples Mādhavamantri and Narahari and his *śiṣyas* at the Vijayanagara palace, the identification of Kriyāśākti with Vidyāraṇya attempted by Dr. Venkatasubbaiya looks a little far-fetched. As Krishna Sāstri observes, 'minister Mādhava's pure Śaivism is opposed to the notions of Advaita religion where Viṣṇu and Śiva are not looked upon with the prejudice of the sectarian.'[509] I do not know if an inference could not be drawn from Vidyāraṇya's northern pilgrimages and his return with a Brahmarākṣasa to Sringeri, which would support the view propounded by Dr. Venkata subbaiya that Kriyāśakti and Vidyāraṇya are identical.

Mādhavācārya and Mādhavamantri—Identity Discussed with Reference to Literary and Other Evidence Available

The subject of the identity of Mādhavācārya and Mādhavamantri and of either of these with Vidyāraṇya has been discussed by scholars in several articles. Where difficulty is felt in identifying Mādhavamantri with Mādhavācārya on account of difference in parentage, *gōtra*, *sūtra*, achievements, and the religious school of thought to which each belonged, attempt is still made by Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, for instance, to describe Āngirasa Mādhava as Vidyāraṇya. If we have succeeded in showing that Kriyāśakti cannot be identical with Vidyāraṇya, as attempted by Dr. Venkatasubbaiya,

508 *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256 ; VIII, Sb. 375 ; X, Mb. 11 ; XI, Dg. 23.

509 *A. S. I.*, 1907-08, p. 238.

perhaps developing a casual hint of Mr. Narasimhachar that Kriyāśakti referred to in the inscriptions may be Vidyātīrtha and on the fact that a Vijayanagara prince is referred to in one place as the disciple of Kriyāśakti Vidyāraṇya without a conjunction between the two words, then it follows that Kriyāśakti's disciple Mādhavamantri who died in the Kanara District in 1392-93 cannot at all be Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyana, much less Vidyāraṇya. Without denying martial qualities or political association to Mādhavācārya who became Vidyāraṇya, it may be confidently asserted that during the period that Vidyāraṇya was occupying the pontifical office at Sringeri, Mādhava Amātya was waging war, governing the country and obeying orders from the king, thus clearly negativing the identity of Vidyāraṇya with him. There is nothing to indicate that his relations with the gurus at Sringeri were other than amicable or peaceful. He must have been very well known in the environs of Sringeri and probably have met Mādhavācārya, the Vidyāraṇya Mahāsvāmi. He gave many villages to Brahmins bordering on Sringeri and his influence was great in Tirthahalli, Shikarpur, Banavase, and the regions of the west coast. He was an active propagandist, built Śiva temples and published various works so much as to become known as the propagator of the Upaniṣadic faith and *pratiṣṭa* guru. From one of his works, he was called the establisher of the Karnātaka Rājya.

Sūta Saṁhita is one of the most fundamental works on the Advaita Vedānta on which Śankara bases some of his strongest arguments, while he made a repeated study of it before writing the commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*. *Tātparya Dīpikā* is a commentary by Āngirasa Mādhava and it is upon this Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer concludes Vidyāraṇya must be this Mādhava.

This Mādhava was the son of Cāvunda bhatta and of Mācāmbikā. He was a disciple of Kriyāśakti. He was a minister under the early Vijayanagara kings. He was a very Tryambaka, excelling Bṛhaspati in wisdom, teaching the essence of Śaivāgama after a study of the Vedas, Purāṇas

and Saṁhitas, as early as 1347. He is referred to in several other grants up to 1391.[510] He was a Brahmin of the Āngirasa *gōtra* and Āpastamba Sūtra. He is described as a warrior, conqueror and builder of an Empire, wrester of Goa from the Muhammadans and heroic minister. When he was appointed as ruler of Āraga, he was the incarnation of the power of Bukka. His gifts to Kashmiri Brahmins under *E. C.*, 281 (1368)[511] confirm his devotion to Kriyāśakti school. On the death of Kriyāśakti in 1388 and his transformation into a linga as Vidyāśankara, he makes a gift of a village in Āvani Nādu calling it Vidyāśankarapura.

The place of Bhāradvāja Mādhava's birth is not yet definitely known. Some say he belonged to a poor family of Brahmins residing in Wārangal. His parentage and *gōtra* and his connections with the court of Vijayanagara on the one hand, and his relationship to Sāyana and Bhogānatha on the other, have already been referred to. He is described as the establisher of the Karnātaka Empire of Vijayanagara, and associated with the Advaitic or non-dualistic school of philosophical thought like Vidyāraṇya, as a teacher and foremost exponent of it, but he is not considered a warrior, conqueror or author of all the works attributed to him. While his brother Sāyana was a minister under four kings, Mādhavacārya's activities were non-secular or spiritual. It is said that there is no indication of his connection with the Sringeri region, no evidence of any title of Ācārya bestowed upon him though he was called so, no propagandic work or Vedāntic authorship to his credit, no evidence of Vedic scholarship though he was

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510 *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375, C.P. 11–2–1347.

511 *E. C.*, VI, Balehonnur 1368, Sk. 35 ; *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 282, 1368 ; Hl. 84, 1380 ; VIII, Nr. 34, 1367 ; Sb. 152, 1380 ; Tl. 147, 1384 ; Sb. 116, 1389 ; Sb. 181, 1391 ; Goa C.P. ; *J. B. Br. A. S.*, IX, 127 ; *A. S. I. W. C.*, 1920, p. 56.

Note—Kashmiri Brahmins in the Shimoga District are also known as Sahavasis. See Uchodi Inscription, *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 1368. Talgunda Inscription refers to Ahichchhatra in the north, VII, Sk. 286, Nj. 269.

the brother of a great scholar, no probability of any endowments or grants to Brahmins when he was minister and that he does not appear to have achieved anything to justify the title of the establisher of the Karnātaka Rājya. In fact, it is said, he was not even the sole author of even *Pancadaśī*, a manual of Vedānta, which he writes only after Sanyāsa.

Some writers go further and say he was a half-brother or cousin of Sāyana.[512] Heras, however, says he was old when he helped Harihara I, in founding an Empire though curiously enough he identifies Mādhava in *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375, with the brother of Sāyana, and Mr. Narasimhachar calls him a minister under early Vijayanagara kings. According to the colophon in the *Parāśara Mādhavīya*, Mādhava Amātya was the bearer of the burden of the sovereignty of Bukka and in *Puruṣārtha Sudhānidhi*, Sāyana describes his elder brother as hereditary preceptor and minister of Bukka I and compares him as Bṛhaspati to Indra. One of the inscriptions describes Mādhavamantri in identical terms, thus showing that both Mādhavācārya and Mādhavamantri were held in the same esteem by Bukka at the time.

Mādhavācārya died in 1386,[513] if he was Kriyāśakti in 1388; but Mādhavamantri died about 1392–93, if not in 1391.[514] Mādhavacārya died at Hampe[515] while Mādhavamantri died in the western parts. When we do not hear of Mādhavācārya at all but of Vidyāraṇya, we continue to notice Mādhavamantri as governor, commander, warrior under the orders of Vijayanagara kings.

Therefore, while the two Mādhavas were contemporaries serving under the same king, perhaps, authors with attainments in the same school of philosophy, both Brahmins and perhaps (according to Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer) belonging to the same sect or community, the inexplicable difference

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512 *E. C.*, X, Mb. 11 pura.
513 Heras, *Q. J. M. S.*, XIX, p. 14, *Beg.*, pp. 97-98.
514 *M. A. R.*, 1916, 97.
515 *J. B. Br. A. S.*, IV, p. 115. Dr. Krishna doubts it.

in dates and achievements, *gōtra* and parentage cannot be explained away by a mere suggestion to exclude the Kāncī inscription from consideration or a statement that literary references such as we have already referred to are interpolations. Further, that Mādhavamantri who is also called Mādarasa is not identical with Mādhavācārya is clear from the fact that when Vidyāraṇya went to Sringeri, Bukka directed Mādarasa to make a grant.[516] Mādhavamantri was a provincial governor and never a *sanyāsi*, while Mādhavācārya became Vidyāraṇya after renouncing the world. When minister Mādhava makes a gift he calls it Mādhavapura and not Vidyāraṇyapura. That he is not the same as Mādhavācārya or Vidyāraṇya is further clear because a copper-plate of Harihara says Mādhavamantri gave a grant of lands in 1386 to three scholars, promoters of the commentaries on the *Vedas* in the presence of Vidyāraṇya. He cannot make a grant referring to himself in another place of the same grant as Vidyāraṇya. That Vidyāraṇya may not be Kriyāśakti, we have shown already. If we should say that Vidyāraṇya is not Mādhavācārya, the possibility of Sāyana will turn up as a claimant. The old Sāyana-Mādhava theory has been given up and I have no wish to raise it up again.

I am aware of the circumstances that in older times, even in Sringeri, the practice of people taking up *sanyāsa* in old age existed and, as such, there is not much in the statement of Mr. Narasimhachar that Mādhavācārya who was a *sanyāsi* could not have taken the mendicant's staff for a sword, but the impossibility of it in 1390 is clear as he was dead four years previously to Mādhavamantri's subjugation of the Muhammadans of Goa.

The theories of adoption and the two *gōtras* included in the Trayarisheya groups put forward by Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer likewise are held by a broken reed. There is no evidence that Sāyana was given in adoption and the parentage and achievements conflict along with other outstanding features with the identity of Mādhavamantri as Vidyāraṇya.

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516 *M. A. R.*, 1916, 97.

It, therefore, follows that Bhāradvāja Mādhava, brother of Sāyana and Bhoganātha, hereditary guru and minister at Vijayanagara, was the great Vidyāraṇya.

General Remarks on Vidyāraṇya

I have endeavoured to show how, according to tradition and history, tested by circumstantial evidence, from the earliest times the house of Vijayanagara was connected with Virūpākṣa, their family god. The connection of Vidyāraṇya with the kings and the influence and importance of his personality at the court of Vijayanagara have been described in detail. It is not improbable that Vidyāraṇya used to perform penance on the hills at Hampe, leading a very austere life and worshipping Virūpākṣa.[517] While the royal line and the imperial city are gone, the fame of Vidyāraṇya and his glory continue undiminished for ages.

Whether he was born at Wārangal or at the Virūpākṣa kṣetra, whether he was a Telugu Brahmin or a Hoysala Karnātaka, his greatness is universally acknowledged. He appears to have taken *sanyāsa* when he was about 63 or 64, in 1331, according to *Guru Paramparā* and does not seem to have stayed at Sringeri for any length of time, though according to another account he always lived at Sringeri. His guru Vidyātīrtha was originally in Kānci, where he was head in 1296. When he came to Sringeri is not known. That Vidyāraṇya was at Hampe and was considered a very important factor in the solidification of Hinduism is attested by every tradition and inscriptions speak to the regard in which he was held by the kings and how they felt the necessity for his presence and appealed to the senior Śrīpāda to get him to the Vijayanagara capital.

Vidyāraṇya's friendship with the heads of other religious schools like Vedānta Desika and others was useful in cementing the scattered elements in Hinduism. He realised that without a powerful Hindu king interested in the religion of his

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[517] *M. A. R.*, 1916, pp. 94-95.

motherland and able to control disorder and introduce peace, no religion could thrive. He was not new to Harihara who was himself a Hoysala feudatory while the Hoysala flag was flying over Hampe. Mādhavācārya, as we have observed, has been described as hereditary preceptor and minister to the rulers of Vijayanagara. There is nothing strange in his befriending Harihara to achieve the political purpose of a Hindu Empire where Ārya *dharma* may have sway. His contribution in the foundation was aptly recognised by naming the capital after him and by raising Sringeri into a Mutt of the greatest importance. The Maṭha developed into a magnificent state, with honours and titles to its guru and vast lands and villages to manage, so that the Hindu *dharma* might flourish in peace. Vidyāraṇya did not construct a military empire but, nevertheless, he was a great statesman and empire-builder.

There is a tradition that while Sāyana was guru at Sringeri Mādhavācārya his brother had no connection with that *pīṭha*. He was only a layman, concerned with the day-to-day administration of the newly-found Empire and that very late in life, when his work was complete, he became a *sanyāsi*, came to Āvani in the Mulbagal Rājya and founded a Maṭha there. It is said that he died there and the references in Mb. 11 relating to the agrahāras and temples in Āvani Nādu no doubt refer to Vidyāraṇya, but in this connection, I must frankly admit my inability to explain this position, though support may be attracted to it from the Nellore grants.

When did Mādhavācārya take *sanyāsa* and becomes Vidyāraṇya? If we follow Ballāla III's movements we shall observe, he goes to Delhi in 1310, returns in 1313, restores Dorasamudra to its ancient position in 1316, and has peace in his dominions till 1326. The Sultan's army advances upon Wārangal and in another two years Wārangal and Kampili fall. Movements of Ballāla to his northern frontier and garrisoning of his forts then begin, for there is no other intermediary or buffer state between the Sultan and himself. The fortress of Vijayanagara must have been then strengthened on this

side of the river Tungabhadra, where he established himself in 1339. Deducting seven years from this date, we get 1331–32. Probably by this time, Mādhavācārya felt secure and took *sanyāsa*, continuing to help by his presence and advice in the construction of the great edifice. But this, of course, is a conjecture.

Mādhavācārya was an extraordinary character whose fame increases with the march of time and develops into an enigma. Exact and extensive knowledge of the Vedas was his. He was excellent in Brahma Vidyā. He had varied literary and religious activities. His political philosophy was of a rarely practical type and in a period of political and religious turmoil he ushered into existence a powerful Hindu Empire.

The Vidyāśankara temple was built on the spot in 1336 where Vidyātīrtha entered into the Lambika *yoga* in 1333. The date generally given to Vidyātīrtha is 1296–1384 but that is incorrect according to *Guru Parampara* and is the result of mistaking Vidyāraṇya for Vidyāśankara. It is also said that Vidyātīrtha lived for seventy-three years at Kāncī. Except from the inscriptions referred to in these pages, it is not possible to confirm or deny this statement. As he is credited with the revival of the Sringeri *pīṭha* whose influence had waned under the Lingayats, his advent to Sringeri must be taken for a fact.

There is no one to compare to Mādhava amongst the gurus of Sringeri in learning. But for him, the Vedas would have been a sealed book to Sanskrit scholars. He was versed in Sanskrit lore, deeply learned in the Vedāngas and well-acquainted with the nature, origin and significance of the archaic forms in which the Vedas so greatly abound. He had attained a mastery over the subtleties of accent known as Svaraprakriya, was amply gifted with a capacity for the perception of the subtle and the indefinite, and he was thoroughly conversant with the Hindu mode of thought and writing. His encyclopædic knowledge enabled him to comprehend the Vedas in their true light.[518]

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518 *Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, p. 219.

As we have seen, the internecine strife amongst the Hindu rulers in the North paved the way for the Moslem invasions and, in spite of some brilliant episodes now and then, Northern India ultimately became subject to the Muhammadan yoke. Opportunities for plunder were freely availed of by the Sultans of Delhi. The campaigns of Malik Kāfur and Allāuddin laid waste rich tracts of Southern India up to the Cape, taking advantage of dynastic struggles and unceasing animosities amongst the rulers of the South Indian kingdoms. Death and desolation and plunder at the capitals; destruction of temples; conversion of the inhabitants to the religion of the Prophet, followed in the wake. The Yādavas of Deogiri, the Kākatiyas of Wārangal, the Hoysala Ballālas of Dorasamudra, the Rājas of Kampili and the Pāndyans in the far South were unable to withstand the aggressor. Deogiri and Wārangal became subordinate to the Sultanate at Delhi. The Kampili Kingdom was overthrown and its ruler slain. On attempting to give succour and protection to Bahāuddin, a nephew of the Sultan, the Ballāla was attacked and his capital Dorasamudra sacked. Therefore, naturally, these South Indian potentates nursed a grievance and waited for an opportunity to assert themselves. The internal condition of the Empire at Delhi under Sultan Muhammad provided the opportunity. In South India itself the heads of several religious institutions, with Vidyāraṇya as the foremost of them, were anxious to guard and protect Hindu religion and *dharma*. Ballāla III was endeavouring to strengthen his position and bring about an understanding amongst the neighbouring princes for the unification of the South. From these united efforts was founded the Empire of Vijayanagara.

The origin and establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire was not born of any attachment to any particular form of Hinduism. It was a comprehensive movement, taking into its fold all forms of the Hindu faith, including the prevalent forms of Jainism and other religious faiths of a non-descript character, for the preservation of the independence of Hindu *dharma*, free from the onrush of the proselytising Muhammadan

and to provide for it a peaceful home. In this great work, a number of prominent men of all religions played a part. Mādhava, Sāyana, Bhoganātha, Kriyāśakti, Mādhavamantri, the great and universally revered Vidyātīrtha, the heads of other religious faiths and prominent rulers like Ballāla, perhaps the Kākatiya Kanya Nāyaka and the feudatory nobles Harihara and Bukka were amongst these. Krishnadevarāya, it is said, found Brahmins especially useful as administrative officers in both civil and military departments. They 'were scholars, afraid of *adharma*, well-versed in *rāja nīti* and offered to rule accordingly'. A Brahmin 'would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kṣatriya or Śūdra.' Therefore, it was always 'advisable for a king to make Brahmins officers'. The strength of the Hindu civilisation was manifested in the culmination of this national effort for their preservation. Like the love of country with the enemy at the gate, love of religion takes hold when it is fiercely attacked from without. Such a love appeared in the Karnātaka country in the fourteenth century, long prior to the development of the national idea in Europe.

The old Hindu temples and Mutts fostered such a spirit, as powerful, social and economic centres for these movements besides being a source of religious inspiration. They were corporations where the co-operation of the people of the locality, aided with royal patronage, was possible. They had the courage to give independent and timely advice, unhampered from any mercenary motives, and because of the source of such advice, the difficulty of opposition to it was great, if not often impossible. These were, therefore, common meeting grounds for the ruler and his subjects providing opportunities for a cordial and healthy co-operation.

As I have said elsewhere, the dismemberment of the Hoysala dynasty was the result of the Muhammadan invasions and the rise of Vijayanagara, under Harihara and Bukka, once its vassals and feudatories. The Hoysala dynasty was thus continued in the Vijayanagara Empire which was the

direct outcome of a sovereign ruler of Mysore, Vīra Ballāla III to secure national liberty in the South by raising to be the capital of Empire his new foundation of Virūpākṣapaṭṭaṇa. As we know the relationships between the kings of Vijayanagara and the rulers of Mysore, it may, appropriately enough, be said, 'it was again Mysore that survived Talikota to continue the traditions of Vijayanagara occupying the throne of the patriotic sovereign Vīra Ballāla III who devoted his life to the cause of Hinduism and made it possible for the South Indian Hindus to be the Hindus they are to-day.' From the time when Rāja Wadiyar of Mysore overcame Tirumalarāya and seated himself on the jewelled throne, the virtual independence of Mysore may be said to have been recognised. It is, therefore, a matter of profound gratification to us, in Mysore, as I am sure it is to all Hindus, that 'His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore is an ornament to the illustrious throne of the patriotic Hoysala Vīra Ballāla III and that by his noble example as a foremost Hindu of Hindus of our times, stimulates his subjects to be the Hindus they are to-day.'

THE SAMBHŪ CHANDĪ SECT

[Of the Pābnā District in Eastern Bengal]

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The renowned archæologist Sir Alexander Cunningham was of opinion that the district of Pābnā in Eastern Bengal might have formed part and parcel of the ancient kingdom of Pundra or Pundra-vardhana which was in existence in the third century B.C. and which was in a flourishing condition even in the seventh century A.D., when the famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang visited and travelled in India. That eminent scholar was further of opinion that the name Pābnā might have been derived from the word Pundra-vardhana by the following process:—In the spoken dialect, the indigenous people would abbreviate the full name Pundra-vardhana to Pon-bardhan. Thereafter the abbreviated name Pon-bardhan was, in course of time, further shortened into Podabhan "from which it is an easy step to Pubnā or Pobnā as some of the people now pronounce it."*

The district of Pābnā is almost adjoining to the district of Nadiyā where the great Vaiṣṇava reformer Chaitanya-Deva lived, moved and had his being.

Chaitanya-Deva was born in Nadiyā in 1485 A.D. and died, at the age of 48 years, in 1533 A.D. So far as his teachings were concerned, some scholars are of opinion that he was a successor of Rāmānanda and Kabir, and that, most likely, the origin of the monotheistic doctrines propounded by him might be traced to the last-named religious reformer.

A well-known Bengali scholar, the late Mr. Rākhāl Dās Hāldār (of the Provincial Civil Service of Bengal and Behar) was of opinion that Chaitanya-Deva was a disguised Jesuit

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* *Vide The Gazetteer of the Pābnā District*, by L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1923, p. 1; also see A. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (1871), p. 480.

missionary. On this subject, his biographer Mr. Sukumār Hāldār says: "He (Rākhāl Dās Hāldār) had a favourite theory that Chaitanya, who was known as Gauranga or 'The White One' was a disguised Jesuit." He was in correspondence on this subject with the well-known German Orientalist Professor A. Weber. In November 1869, the Professor wrote to R.D.H. as follows: "Your idea of Chaitanya's being a Jesuit missionary does not appear to me very likely. For after all, from what we know at present about Chaitanya's time and life, he was born in 1485 A.D., *i.e.*, thirteen years before the Portuguese found their way to India; and he died in 1533 A.D., *i.e.*, thirty-five years after their arrival (in 1498 A.D.). His teaching is said to have been going on principally from 1509 to 1515 A.D. He was a successor of Rāmānanda and Kabir; and he owes his monotheistic faith probably to the latter. Still I shall be the last to deny the possibility of direct Christian, *viz.*, Jesuistic, communication in a time prior to the arrival of the Portuguese."†

Chaitanya abrogated caste and enlisted as his disciples, men of all castes and creeds. He was of opinion that all devout Vaiṣṇavas belonged to one caste and that there existed no caste distinctions among them. He preached a monotheistic faith and rejected the numerous gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon. His monotheistic doctrines and especially his repudiation of the caste-system found great favour among the low-caste people of Bengal, many of whom became his disciples. In fact, this cardinal creed of Chaitanya-Deva's religion is expressed in the undermentioned Bengali couplet :—

१. मुचि हये शुचि हय यदि हरि भजे ।

२. शुचि हये मुचि हय यदि हरि त्यजे ॥

English Translation

1. A *Mochi* or shoe-maker by caste becomes holy if he worships God.

† *Vide A Mid-Victorian Hindu* (A Sketch of the Life and Times of Rākhāl Dās Hāldār), by Sukumār Hāldār, B.A., Ranchi, 1921, pp. 182-83.

2. A holy and high-caste man becomes as unholy as a shoe-maker if the former does not worship God.

His enlistment of disciples from among men of all castes and creeds is further evidenced by the popular Bengali saying :

"जात् हरिये वोष्टम् "

or

" One, who has lost his caste, becomes a Vaiṣṇava."

Chaitanya's doctrines and teachings spread far and wide and were disseminated in the adjoining district of Pābnā, where they found ready acceptance among the low-caste people, especially, among the fishermen of that locality. A fisherman of Pābnā, named Sambhū Chandī, founded a new Hindu sect which is designated after his name, namely, the Sambhū Chandīs of Pābnā. The founder of this sect lived about 1833 A.D. and became the favourite disciple of a Vaiṣṇava whom he had ferried across a river. From the latter, he imbibed superhuman powers and, for the purpose of promulgating his doctrines, established the sect of "Sambhū Chandīs" whose cardinal article of faith is "*Guru Satya*" (गुरु सत्य) that is to say, "The *guru* (or spiritual preceptor) is truth". They worship the divine cowherd and flute-player Kṛṣṇa and his spouse Rādhā.

There is a *math* or monastery at Chittholia, which is presided over by a hereditary *mahant* or abbot. This *mahant* is reported to have disciples not only in the district of Pābnā (in Eastern Bengal) but also in the district of Rangpur (in Northern Bengal) and in localities so far remote as Assam in the Eastern frontiers of India.

The Mālos form the majority of the population of the Pābnā District. They are votaries of Vaiṣṇavism. As an address of courtesy, one Mālo of the sterner sex calls another male Mālo by the name of वैष्णूवेर वेटा or "*the son of a Vaiṣṇava*". While a Mālo woman calls another female of the same sect by the designation of वैष्णूवेर वेटी or "*the daughter of a Vaiṣṇava*".‡

‡ *Vide The Gazetteer of the Pābnā District*, by L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S. Calcutta : The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1923, pp. 32-33.

I shall conclude this paper with a few remarks of mine about the late Mr. R. D. Hāldār's theory that Chaitanya-Deva was no other than a disguised Jesuit missionary. It is true that there are two great points of similarity between Vaiṣṇavism and Christianity. The first point of resemblance is as regards Chaitanya's doctrine of benevolence to an enemy. This tenet he exemplified in his own life by the following incident: On one occasion, a certain person happened to beat Chaitanya-Deva with the broken rim of an earthen vessel. Instead of taking reprisals on the former, the latter, addressing his assailant, said as follows :—

१. मेरेछो कलसीद कामा ।

२. ता बोले कि प्रेम् दिवना ॥

English Translation

1. You have beaten me with the broken rim of an earthen vessel.

2. But, in spite of this, I must bestow my love on you.

This religion of love preached by Chaitanya-Deva bears a striking similarity to the Christian doctrine of conquering hate by love.

Then again, Chaitanya-Deva preached the doctrine that all Vaiṣṇavas are equal and belong to one caste and that there are no caste-distinctions among them. This tenet is quite similar to the Christian doctrine that all men are equal and that there is no caste-system among the Christians.

Notwithstanding these two points of similarity, which appear to me to be mere accidental coincidences, the whole of Chaitanya-Deva's teachings are, beyond the shadow of a doubt, oriental and indigenous in their character and were evolved in his mind independently of all Christian influence. His doctrines of benevolence to an enemy and of the equality of all Vaiṣṇavas without the existence of any caste-distinction among them, appear to have independently originated in his mind; and I am firmly of opinion that Chaitanya-Deva needed no Jesuit missionary come to him to teach him these tenets.

Of course, there was the well-known case of the Italian Jesuit missionary named Robert De Noble who assumed the

appearance of a Hindu *sannyāsi* or mendicant by besmearing his face with ashes, called himself a *Romaka Brāhmana* or "Roman Brahman," persuaded the ignorant people of the Madras Presidency to believe that he was really a Brāhmana and, thereby, converted them to Christianity. On this subject, the late Mr. Rākhāl Dās Hāldār's biographer says:—

"Mosheim, in the fourth volume of his well-known *Ecclesiastical History*, refers to some curious devices adopted by Catholic missionaries in Southern India to propagate Christianity in the seventeenth century. He alludes particularly to Robert De Noble, an Italian Jesuit, who, under the assumed name of *Romaka Brāhmana*, worked at Madura and achieved great success. He assumed, we are told, "the appearance and title of a Brāhmana who had come from a far country and, by besmearing his countenance and imitating that most austere and painful method of living that the *sannyāsis* or penitents observe, at length persuaded the credulous people that he was, in reality, a member of that venerable order."§

Mosheim adds: "The Secretary of the *Congregation de Propaganda Fide* wrote in 1676 to Pope Innocent that Robert Nobili, although he called himself a Brāhmana, was not guilty of falsehood."

In my humble opinion the device which was adopted by Robert Nobili for propagating the Christian faith was a fraudulent one. In the seventeenth century A.D., the rustic people of the Madras Presidency were in a low plane of culture and, being very credulous, could not distinguish truth from falsehood. It is for this reason that Robert Nobili's device succeeded so aldmirably among them. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D., the district of Nadiyā in Bengal was the great seat of Sanskrit learning, as it is even to the present day. In those times, the people of Nadiyā were far more learned and clever than the people of the Madras Presidency were in the seventeenth century. It was, therefore, quite

§ *Vide A Mid-Victorian Hindu*, A Sketch of the Life and Times of Rākhāl Dās Hāldār, by Sukumār Hāldār, B.A., pp. 191-92.

impossible for a Jesuit missionary, however, clever and learned he might have been, to assume the guise of a Hindu *sannyāsi* and to palm himself off as *Gauranga* or "*The White One*" upon a clever and cultured people like the inhabitants of Nadiyā.

On the other hand, the details about Chaitanya-Deva's life and education are well known and have become historical facts, of which the accuracy cannot be questioned at the present day. It is well known that Chaitanya-Deva was the son of Pandit Jagannāth Misra by his wife Śachī Devī and was born at Navadvīpa in the district of Nadiyā in 1485 A.D. These facts have now become matters of history. Then again, Chaitanya Deva's teachings are quite original and Indian in their character; and there is not an iota of evidence to show that his teachings were borrowed from Christianity.

In view of what I have said above, Mr. R. D. Hāldār's theory that Chaitanya-Deva was a disguised Jesuit missionary is wholly untenable.

Post-Script

Closely allied to the afore-described Sambhū Chandī Sect of Pābnā is the *Guru Satya* Sect of the districts of Jessore and Khulna in Central Bengal. The members of this latter sect are low-caste men who have no attraction for home-life and have not therefore married and promulgate the tenets of their sect by chanting hymns in a loud voice. Two of the best-known exponents of this sect were Lālan Fakīr and Ishān Fakīr of Jessore.$

$ *The History of Jessore and Khulna* (in Bengal), by Satish Chandra Mitra. In two volumes. Calcutta, 1329, B.S., Vol. II, p. 865.

A CURIOUS MUSALMĀN SECT

[Of, the Dinājpur District in Northern Bengal]

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

IF we study the ethnology of Bengal, we come across a few sects and castes whose religious beliefs and practices appear to be a sort of compromise between Hinduism and Muhammadanism. This leads one to come to the conclusion that these sects and castes were originally Hindus but were, at a later period, converted to the Musalmān faith.

The truth of my foregoing remark is proved by the following instance which has been culled from the religious history of the district of Dinājpur in Northern Bengal. Now this District is situated to the west of the Jalpāigari and Rangpur districts. It will not, I hope, be out of place to say here a few words about the origin of the place-name Dinājpur. According to the opinion of the late Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, the ethnological significance of the name "Dinājpur" is "*the abode of beggars*". He further says that this place is identical with Dinwāj, of which a Rājā named Ganesh usurped the Government of Gaur. It is stated that the name Dinwāj was the original designation of the locality in which the present Rājbārī or the residential house of the present Dinājpur Rāj family is located. It is, therefore, conjectured that some forgotten scion named Dināj or Dinwāj was the original founder of the Dinājpur Rāj family and gave his name to the site on which the afore-mentioned house stands. In Rennell's *Description of the Roads of Bengal and Bihar* which was published in 1778, Rājganj is given as an alternative name of the town of Dinājpur, and survives, even at the present day, in the designation of one of the quarters of that town.*

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* *Vide The Gazetteer of the Dinājpur District*, by F. W. Strong, I.C.S. The Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1912, p. 1.

Now I should come to the proper subject of this paper. In the district of Dinājpur, there is a village named Bāliyādighi which is within the police outpost of Hemtābād. Since the time of Shāh Sujā, there has lived in this village a curious sect of Musalmān *Fakirs* or mendicants whose religious practices are a sort of compromise between Muhammadanism and Hindu Jogism. There is a tradition to the effect that, in some far-off time, a Hindu Rājā named Bāliyā dwelt in this locality. It is said that a *Fakir* named Shāh Sultān Hasan Mariyā Barahana, who was the founder of this sect, came to this village and asked for an audience with the afore-mentioned Rājā. When the latter refused to grant to the former the prayed-for audience, the mendicant asked for the grant to him of as much land as he could cover with the skin on which he used to squat. His prayer for the grant of this much land, which appeared to be a modest one, was readily granted. Thereupon the skin began to spread and spread till it reached right up to the walls of the Rājā's palace. On seeing this miraculous event, the Rājā became very much frightened and committed suicide by drowning himself in the tank or *dighi* of his palace. On this, the Musalmān *Fakir* Mariyā Barahana took possession of the deceased Rājā's estates which were retained by the former's successors until quite recent times. These were lost by the father of the *Fakir* (who was living in 1912 or thereabouts), owing to his having embarked upon a costly but unsuccessful litigation.

From a study of the foregoing account of the Barahana *Fakirs*, I am of opinion that the founder of this sect appears to have been a Hindu *Sannyāsi* who was forcibly converted to Muhammadanism during the time of Shāh Sujā and, on his conversion, was given the name of Shāh Sultān Hasan Mariyā Barahana. It further appears to me that, though he professed the Muhammadan faith, he retained many Hindu beliefs and practices which he handed down to his successors and followers. What these Hindu beliefs and practices retained by them are, will appear from the following account of this sect which has been written by a Muhammadan gentleman named Maulvi

Abdul Wali and published by him in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for* 1913 :—

"The beliefs and practices of these *fakirs* are in many ways anti-Islamic. They grow long hair on their heads, put on coloured clothes, wear a small piece of cloth (called *kafni*) instead of breeches and use shackles of iron and long iron tongs. They sit with thick sticks placed as a support under their arms. They never take food touched by other persons, and subsist mainly on unboiled rice, clarified butter and salt. They do not eat fish or meat. Until recent years, they lived a life of celibacy. In their tours, they carried the fish standard called *mahi-o-muratib*, and were accompanied by a large retinue. Their title is Barahana or nude; till recently they wore only one small piece of cloth and even this was probably not worn in earlier times."†

The truth of the remark which I made at the beginning of this paper is further proved by an examination of the religious beliefs and practices of the illiterate Muhammadans of the district of Rājshāhi which adjoins the Dinājpur District on the south. We find that the said beliefs and practices are based on Hindu superstitions. For instance, if the child of a low-class and ignorant Muhammadan falls ill, the Hindu religious treatise entitled *Padma Purāṇa* is recited. If cattle-disease breaks out in the village, *Gorakher Lāru* is sung. I think that this song is nothing but a folk-ballad in honour of the godling Gorakṣanāth who presides over the welfare of cattle. On the occasion of a marriage, the goddess Mangala Candī is worshipped. Pictures are painted on the walls; milk, plantains and vermilion (*sindur*) are placed on the floor; and incense is burnt. The womenfolk sing songs throughout the night from evening to morning. These rites are performed under the belief that the same will bring *mangala* or good fortune to the bridegroom and the bride.

The illiterate Muhammadans of the Rājshāhi District also perform another Hindu ceremony which goes by the name of "*Āśān Karā*" or "Extrication from Difficulty". It is gone

† *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

through if some body has lost any sort of property and wants to get it back, if anybody is attacked with any kind of disease, especially rheumatism and gout and is desirous of recovering from it, or if some litigation concerning landed property is going on and success in it is desired. The man who officiates in the performance of this ceremony is designated the "*Brahmadaitya Fakir*". Milk and plantains are obtained and offered to the *Brahmadaitya* or the ghost of a deceased Brāhman whose assistance is invoked for extricating the celebrant of the ceremony from the afore-mentioned difficulties. In the course of performing this ceremony, which takes place during the night, the officiating *Fakir* rings a bell, mutters some incantations and winnows black paddy. (I think that the bell is rung and the incantations are muttered for the purpose of arousing the ghost's sympathy in the celebrant's troubles. But I am unable to make out the significance of the rite of winnowing black paddy.)‡

Then again, the name Rājshāhi, by which this district is called, affords another instance of the admixture of Hindu and Muhammadan ideas and languages. It is popularly believed that this name signifies "*the Royal Territory*," because it is the home of many Rājās. But this interpretation is a wrong one. One plausible explanation is that as in the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D., this part of the country was ruled over by Rājā Kans or Ganesh, the Hindu Chief of Bhaturid (that is, the country on both sides of the river Ātreyi in Dinājpur and Rājshāhi) and as this Rājā, after ousting the Muhammadan Governor of Gaur, became King of Bengal, and, in the opinion of Professor Blochmann, was, therefore, known by the name of Rājā-Shāh, that is to say, a Hindu Rājā who ascended a Muhammadan throne, while his territory acquired the name of Rājshāhi.§

‡ *Vide The Gazetteer of Rājshāhi*, by L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1916, p. 66.

§ *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-2. Also see Prof. Blochmann's article entitled: "History and Geography of Bengal," in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1876, p. 287.

From a study of the foregoing account of the religious belief and practices of the illiterate and low-class Muhammadans of the Rājshāhi District, I have arrived at the conclusion that these people were originally Hindus but were forcibly converted to Muhammadanism during the regime of the Musalmān Kings of Bengal, and that, though they ordinarily profess the Muhammadan faith and conform to the rites and usages of that religion, they have retained the Hindu customs and ceremonies described above.

Then again, on coming to the district of Māldā which is situated to the south-west of the Dinājpur District, we find that a curious caste bearing the name of Husaini Goālās live in this part of the country. They are semi-Hindus and semi-Muhammadans; that is to say, while they profess the Islamic faith, they practise many Hindu rites and ceremonies. The Muhammadans claim them as being members of their Musalmān fraternity; while the Hindus say that these Goālās are members of the Hindu society. An interesting account of this curious caste appeared in one of the issues of the Calcutta daily *Amrita Bazar Patrika* for November 1932.

Then, coming to the district of Dacca in Eastern Bengal, we come across a caste called the Kāndus. According to Sir H. H. Risley, this caste has its habitat from Bengal to Bihar and is known by the names of Kāndu, Kānu, Bharbhunjā, Bhujāri and Gour. The members of this caste are supposed to have been descended from a Kāhār father and a Śūdra mother and earn their livelihood by grain-parching.

The Kāndus of the Dacca District, though they profess to be Hindus and employ Brāhmans as their *purohits* or priests, follow a curious creed called *Pānch Piriya* and perform many Muhammadan rites and customs. On this subject, the renowned anthropologist Sir H. H. Risley says:—

"The Dacca Kāndus, although employing a Brāhman as *purohit*, follow the singular creed called the *Pānch Piriya*. Many observe the fast of Ramzān, wear the *badhi* or sash, and the *kafni* or mendicant's garb, offer sweetmeats (*shrini*) at *dargas* and at the Shīah Husain Dālān and put their trust in

amulets (*tawiz*) given by the Khwand-Kār. Like the Pānch Pir Binds, and Kumhārs, their Guru is a Mahant of the Nānak Shāhī Ākhārā."$

From a study of the aforementioned Dacca Kāndus, I am of opinion that they are semi-Hindus and semi-Muhammadans and have not yet completely embraced the Muslim religion.

There now remains one more point to be discussed. It is that, in the foregoing account of the Barahana *Fakirs*, it is stated that the founder of the sect asked from Rājā Bāliyā the grant of as much land as would be covered by the skin the former used for sitting upon. Now this incident bears some sort of analogy to the tradition about the land acquired by Queen Dido for founding Carthage upon. She was granted as much land as would be covered by a square skin. But she hit upon an ingenious device for acquiring a larger extent of land. She cut the skin into very narrow strips which, when joined together, formed a very long thong. By measuring with this thong, she managed to secure a longer area of land whereon she founded the city of Carthage.

In Bengal, there is a similar tradition about the way by which Rājā Navakṛṣṇa, the founder of the Sovābāzār Rāj family of Calcutta, acquired the Sutanuti Taluka. It is said that, in the early part of his career, Navakṛṣṇa was Persian Munshi to Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal. The latter was so much pleased with the former's work that he granted the former as much land as the former would be able to measure with a *suta nuti* or "a skein of thread". This is the origin of the famous Sutanuti Taluka which, together with the other two talukas, namely, Kalikātā (Calcutta) and Govindpur, formed the nucleus of the modern city of Calcutta. Sutanuti Taluka is still the Zamindari of the Sovābāzār Rāj family of Calcutta.

$ *Vide The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, by H. H. Risely, I.CSS. In two volumes. Calcutta: Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 414, 416-417.

Post-Script

Since writing the foregoing paragraphs, I have come to know that the afore-described tradition about the spreading sitting-skin has an exact parallel in another legend about the spreading prayer-skin which is current in the adjoining district of Bogra in Northern Bengal. In this latter legendary story, it is stated that, when Rājā Parasurām was reigning in Mahāsthān Garh, a simple Musalmān *Fakir* or mendicant came to the aforementioned Rājā on one occasion and asked from the latter the grant of as much land as would enable him to spread his prayer-skin upon for sitting thereupon and saying his prayers or *namaz*. The Hindu Rājā granted the Musalmān *Fakir's* request. Having obtained the grant of the land, the mendicant spread his skin on it and, sitting thereupon with his face turned towards the west, began to say his prayers. Shortly afterwards, the size of the prayer-skin began to increase, and, before he could finish his prayers, covered up almost the whole of Parasurām's Kingdom. Seeing this miraculous event, the Hindu Rājā became very much frightened and, having assembled his soldiers, attacked the Musalmān *Fakir*. But he and his soldiers were defeated and killed by the mendicant. Subsequently the *Fakir* himself was killed by Rājā Parasurām's daughter Sīlādevī who then committed suicide by drowning herself in the river Karatoyā.||

|| *Vide* the Bengali book entitled *Poundra Vardhana O Karatoyā* by Srī Haragopāl Dās Kundu, 1326 B.S. Published by the Sherpur Town Club (in District Bogra), 74.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS
No. L

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

[On the Moroccan Folk-Beliefs about the Barn-Owl or the Screech-Owl as a Bird of Ill-Omen]

In my paper entitled: "*Studies in Bird-Myths, No. XIX.—On an Aetiological Myth about the Brown Fish-Owl*," which has been published in this *Journal*, Vol. XVIII, pages 170–72, I have stated that the Bedouins of Tunisia in North Africa also regard the Barn-Owl or Screech-Owl (*Strix flammea*) with great horror and believe that its cry forebodes death. They relate the undermentioned myth accounting for the evolution of this bird of evil repute.

The cry of this owl, which is regarded in every land as a bird of ill-omen, is listened to with a panic-stricken shudder by every Bedouin mother.

This owl, they say, is the spirit of a horrible old woman who beat her son to death because he forgot to fetch her a sieve. And, in consequence, she flies by night in the desert; and, should she alight on a *gourbi* (the skin-tent of a nomad), the child within the tent is doomed to certain death. Wherefore on every *gourbi* in the south, you may see a sieve or an upturned saucepan with holes pierced in it, placed there so that the sight thereof may afflict the Barn-Owl with repentance and move her to save the child.

I shall show, in this paper, that the inhabitants of Morocco in North Africa, who have sprung from the Arab stock of mankind, speak the Arabic language and profess the Muhammadan religion, also look upon the Barn-Owl or the Screech-Owl (*Strix flammea*) as a bird of evil omen. As this bird is found in Southern Europe, it is also very likely found in Morocco in North Africa; and the Moroccans are, therefore, familiar with it.

In Morocco, as in other places, the hooting of the Barn-Owl is considered to prognosticate death. The Ulad Bwayiy tribe of the Moroccans believe that, if an owl hoots on the roof of a tent or house, the life of the owner thereof is in danger,

He thereupon tries to turn the danger of death upon the owl itself by saying: "Your *fäl* be in your bag". But some people prevent owls from coming to the tent by tying to its roof a stake with a piece of black tent-cloth attached to it.

The belief that the hooting of an owl on the roof of a house at night prognosticates the death of the proprietor thereof, is also prevalent among the Igliwa tribe of the Moroccans.

The Arabs of the Hiaina tribe believe that, if an owl (the Barn-Owl) is heard hooting upon a house in the evening or at daybreak, somebody living in that house will die, unless it is expelled or shot dead, for, in that case, the *bas* or evil will also go away with it. When its hooting is heard, the people say: "Owl! your *fäl* be on your own head."

The Ait Wäryäger tribesmen state that the hooting of an owl outside a house portends that some inmate of that or of a neighbouring house will die; and they drive the bird away by throwing at it a sooty piece of a broken old earthenware pam or fire at it with a gun.

The Ait Sadden and the Ait Warain tribesmen of Morocco maintain that, if an owl (Barn-Owl) is heard hooting at night in a village, some inhabitant thereof will die shortly; and they try to shoot the bird in order that its hooting may not be heard another night. If a person has died and been buried, and the owl is still hooting, the whole locality will become empty—not on account of the apprehended death of all the inhabitants but because they will have to abandon it for some reason or other.

Among the Ait Temsaman tribesmen* of Morocco, an owl, which is heard hooting at night, is expelled by pelting it with stones; lest some person or animal in the village should die or some other calamity will happen to its inhabitants.

On a careful analysis of the afore-described superstitious beliefs, we find that—

(1) The Bedouins of Tunisia and the Arab tribesmen of Morocco look upon the Barn-Owl or the Screech-Owl as a supernatural being or messenger of death.

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* *Vide Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, by Edward Westermarck, Ph.D., (Hon.) LL.D. (Abredeen). In two volumes, London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1926, Vol. II, pp. 333–36.

(2) The Bedouins of Tunisia believe that this owl is the metamorphosed spirit of an old woman who beat her son to death.

(3) The perching or hooting of this owl upon a house or tent portends the death of either the owner thereof or of some one of its inmates.

(4) The evil portended by the perching or hooting of this owl is sought to be annulled either by cursing the bird or by driving it away or by shooting it dead.

(5) This messenger of death, in its bird-shape, is afraid of a sieve, an upturned saucepan with holes pierced in it and a stake with a piece of black tent-cloth tied to it. It is also afraid of pieces of soot-besmeared old earthenware pans.

(6) The black colour appears to exorcise it away.

(7) In Bengal (in Northern India) also, the owl is regarded by the Bengali Hindus as a messenger of death.† They exorcise it away by invoking the name of the semi-divine hero Rāma. But, strangely enough, the Arabs of North Africa do not exorcise it away by invoking the name of Allah or the All-Powerful God.

(8) The Hindu womenfolk of Bengal believe that if a Screech-Owl hoots upon the roof of a room in which a pregnant woman or an infant child is living, its hooting will cause some evil to her or it. So the Bengali women will drive it away by saying: "O ghost, go away or I shall cut off your nose with a fish-knife." This is paralleled by the belief current among the Bedouins of Tunisia to the effect that if a Barn-Owl will sit upon the roof of a skin-tent, the child living within that tent will surely die.

(9) As the Bedouins of Tunisia narrate a myth to account for the evolution of the Barn-Owl, there must surely be a similar myth current among the Arabs of Morocco. But, unfortunately, Dr. Westermarck has not been able to collect it. It is to be hoped that future researchers in Morocco will come across it and place it on record.

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† It is so regarded in South India also. *Ed.*

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS
No. XXVIII.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[A Few Myths and Legends connected with the *Kadam* Tree]

THE *Kadam* tree, which belongs to the Order *Rubiaceæ*, is known to botanists under the name of *Anthocephalus cadamba.* It is a tall tree possessing a perfectly straight trunk from which spread all round and to some distance many horizontal branches. It is widely cultivated for its beautiful flowers which have been characterised as being—

> "A treasure so wondrous
> Of hairy gold orbs."

It grows wild only in Assam, South India and Ceylon.

The leaves of this tree are very beautiful, ovate-oblong, sharply pointed and possess particularly glossy surfaces. These are reticulated with prominent and lateral veins.

Its golden-yellow flower-heads, which are one inch and a half in diameter are, more often than not, borne singly at the ends of the branchlets. When passing from the stage of immature buds to that of fully expanded flowers, they display a wonderful change of colouration. At first, they are green; then they are pale primrose with the white projecting corollas and large fusiform stigmas. Lastly, they attain to a stage wherein they look—

> "Like the Hesperides of old,
> Trees of life, with fruits of gold."

The tree flowers profusely during the rainy season in Northern India. But a European lady-writer Ida Colthurst says that "August is their special season of enchantment".

The fruits of the *Kadam* tree are fleshy, yellow and as big as a small orange. When ripe, they are acid in flavour and are eaten both raw and cooked.

The readers of the Hindi Classic *Prēmsāgara*, which narrates the life and doings of the divine cowherd Śrī Kṛṣṇa, will be reminded of the intimate association of the *Kadam* tree and of its beautiful flowers with Kṛṣṇa to whom they are particularly dear and to propitiate whom these flowers are offered at Hindu shrines on the occasion of Śrī Kṛṣṇa's festival. (But Ida Colthurst is mistaken in saying that "the *Kadam* flowers are offered in Kṛṣṇa's memory at Hindu shrines '*chiefly at the approach of the festival of Manasā the protectress of men from snakes*'.")

The *Kadam* tree is not at all associated with the snake-goddess Manasā. What she probably means by the above passage is that the *Kadam* flowers are offered in Kṛṣṇa's memory at Hindu shrines on the occasion of the Kṛṣṇa's festival which is held in the months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādra in which months the Nāgapancamī festival in honour of the snake-goddess is also held.

Another legend tells about the intimate connection of the divine bird Garuḍa with the *Kadam* tree. It narrates how

> "King Garuḍa, best beyond compare
> Of birds who wing the fields of air"

achieved the astonishing feat of perching on a *Kadam* tree with a tortoise eighty miles long and an elephant double that length in either claw. But the tree was unable to bear the strain of this very heavy load, and, as unhappily, thousands of pigmy Brāhmans were worshipping on one of its branches, but, apprehending lest he should kill any one of them, flew off; but, at the same time,

> "The feathered monarch raised the weight
> Of the huge bough, and bore away
> The loosened load as well as captured prey."*

There is yet another legend or myth connected with the *Kadam* tree. It tells us how, in ancient times, there was

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* *Vide Familiar Flowering Trees in India*, by Ida Colthurst. Published by Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta and Simla, 1924, pp. 147-49.

a great lake named Kāliyadaha which was inhabited by a a gigantic snake called the Kāliya Nāga. Its breath was so venomous that if any living being or animal or plant came within a distance of five *kroses* from it, he or it was instantly killed by inhaling this poisonous breath.

But there was an island in the midst of this lake. On this island there grew a *Kadam* tree (*Anthocephalus cadamba*) which had become immortal. The circumstances under which this tree attained immortality were as follows :—

On one occasion, the divine bird Garuḍa after feeding upon *amrita* or ambrosia, had perched upon this *Kadam* tree. Now, it so happened that a drop of ambrosia, which was sticking to the bird's beak, dropped upon the tree. In consequence of this, this *Kadam* tree became immortal and was not killed by the Kāliya Nāga's venomous breath.

From a study of the foregoing myths and legends, we find that—

(1) The *Kadam* tree grew profusely in Northern India, especially in the countryside round about Brindaban.

(2) The divine cowherd and flute-player Śrī Kṛṣṇa grazed his herds of cattle under these trees and also disported thereunder with the milk-maids of Brindaban.

(3) It is for this reason that the *Kadam* tree has become sacred to Kṛṣṇa and its flowers are offered at the festivals of this deity.

(4) The festival, at which the flowers of the *Kadam* tree are presented by way of offering to the deity Śrī Kṛṣṇa, is the *Jhulan-Jātrā* or "The Swinging Festival" which is celebrated in the month of Śrāvaṇa (July–August) or Bhādra (August–September). This festival is held in memory of the fact that the deity Śrī Kṛṣṇa swung himself, with the milk-maids of Brindaban, from the branches of the *Kadam* tree.

(5) The *Kadam* tree has no connection whatever with the snake-goddess Manasā.

(6) Śrī Kṛṣṇa is an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the Preserver.

(7) The god Viṣṇu is represented in Hindu mythology as riding upon the bird Garuḍa who is half-eagle and half-man.

(8) It is for this reason that the bird Garuḍa is sacred to Viṣṇu and, therefore, to Kṛṣṇa.

(9) It is very probable that Garuḍa, who is sacred to Kṛṣṇa, perches upon *Kadam* trees which are also sacred to Kṛṣṇa.

(10) The legend about Garuḍa's perching upon a gigantic *Kadam* tree with a gigantic tortoise and a Brobdignagian elephant in either of his claws and, then, flying off with the same appears to have been fabricated for the purpose of showing off the tremendous physical strength of the divine bird Garuḍa.

(11) There appears to have existed, in Ancient India, a race of pigmy-sized Brāhmans who inhabited trees.

(12) In the myth narrated above, it would appear that the pigmy Brāhmans were worshipping the deity Kṛṣṇa upon the branches of the *Kadam* tree which is sacred to that God.

LATE RAO BAHADUR NARASIMHACHAR

WHILE it is by no means an easy task to give an account of the life of Prāktana Vimarśa Vicakṣaṇa Karṇātaka Prācya Vidyā Vaibhava Mahāmahopādhyāya Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, an Indian Archæologist of international reputation, an attempt is here made to invite public attention to certain salient features of his great and unique contribution towards the reconstruction of Indian History, with particular reference to Mysore and South India.

Mr. Narasimhachar was master of and proficient in many languages: learned in the classical and Dravidian languages of India: and an authority in the Kannada Language and Literature. His knowledge of Indian Archæology, architecture and numismatics was profound and his services were always under requisition by other States and from distinguished scholars throughout the world. After serving for many years as a teacher, he joined the Archæological Department in about 1899 as an Assistant under Mr. B. L. Rice, then Head of the Department. On the retirement of Mr. Rice in July 1906, Mr. Narasimhachar succeeded him. Mr. Rice had left a record of work of half a century, during which period, by a systematic survey, all the architectural monuments and inscriptions so far available had been collected, and volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* had begun to appear. For prodigious industry, solid learning and patient labour, Mr. Rice had left a record which it was not easy to equal. His successor very ably shouldered the task that devolved upon him and, it is gratifying to record, proved a worthy disciple to him.

Mr. Narasimhachar's first and great work was to edit the important standard work of Nāgavarma's *Kāvyāvalokana* and help Mr. Rice in deciphering the Tamil inscriptions. The Ganga plates of Srī Puruṣa, newly discovered, furnished important information and for the Report for 1907–08 Mr. Narasimhachar was also able to procure a copper plate inscription of Harihara II, belonging to 1386, from which he inferred that several

scholars helped Sāyaṇa in his compilation of the commentaries of the Vedas. He regarded Sāyaṇa to be the corruption of Cāvuṇḍa, a mistake which he, however, later on rectified in the light of inscriptional evidence available. The Report for 1908–09 was full and interesting and was regarded by the Government as having been prepared with great care and intelligence. Several temples were discovered for the first time. On the site of the old town of Chandravaḷḷi were discovered several finds of ancient pottery, coins, etc., and the Government directed further investigations. The pieces of pottery and the lead coins found at Chandravaḷḷi were regarded as of considerable value by Sir John Marshall and other scholars. A map with detailed references was also given facing page 1 of that Report. The Butceśvara temple at Koravangala was an excellent piece of workmanship. Sir John Marshall was impressed with the account of the ruins of Chandravaḷḷi and, at his instance, Mr. Narasimhachar revisited Chandravaḷḷi. This historic site has been explored to some extent by Dr. Krishna in recent years. I had the advantage of visiting the ruins as a young man and seeing the work done soon after Mr. Narasimhachar's departure, and I have since seen the excellent work of Dr. Krishna in the same environs. At this period, Mr. Narasimhachar was also engaged in revising the Sravaṇabeḷogoḷa inscriptions. In a note on the epitaph of Ariṣṭanemi, he considers it as of exceptional value as giving a clue to the epitaphs elsewhere as regards their period. Prof. Rapson felt that Dr. Hulfzsch's readings of the Marathi coins had to be revised. In the following year, the old Chinese coins of the second century B.C. were picked up near the Chandravaḷḷi site. Mr. Narasimhachar discovered the date of the Pallava king Simha Varman from the Jaina work called *Lokavibhāga* by Simha Sūri and thus made a valuable contribution towards the reconstruction of the Pallava history.

Mr. Narasimhachar was also able to discover in the year 1909 a manuscript of the *Svapnavāsavadatta*, a drama by the poet Bhāsa. Along with this, Ānandālwar, a senior copyist of Mysore, discovered the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyana* also of Bhāsa,

a well-known celebrity recognized by the famous Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa. The discovery of these was, therefore, regarded as one of great importance. Ten more dramas of Bhāsa including *Daridra Cārudatta* alleged to be the foundation for the *Mricchakaṭika* of Kālidāsa were discovered by Ganapathi Sastriar of Travancore. In the following year, an old inscription was discovered at Talagunda which, with the copper-plates procured at Shimoga, supplied new and important material concerning the dynasty of Kadambas. By this time, the work of the Archæological Department had gained an important place in the world of scholars.

Mysore sculpture in all its magnificence and detailed carving on the walls of the Hoysala temples studded all over the Mysore country received attention throughout the world and began to claim a separate niche in the fane of Indian architecture, replacing the previous theory that it was only a development of the Cālukyan architecture. Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar, in the course of a decade, furnished remarkable information regarding these gems and specimens of the Hoysala art in his Annual Reports, and it would be difficult to surpass him in the description of the elaborate details of styles of architecture. Mr. Narasimhachar subsequently published some monographs on a few selected Hoysala temples. Sir Vincent Smith has referred in his work to Hoysala temples and Hoysala sculpture.

In 1912, Mr. Narasimhachar discovered the Gummareddy-pura plates of the Ganga king Durvinīta and thus, besides proving the existence of Durvinīta himself, established beyond doubt the existence of Sringeri plates of *Bruhatkatha* to all those who knew. In the next year (1913) were found the Nandi plates of Mādhava I. The Ganga genealogy published from the plates discovered during the year were of great importance inasmuch as that information was not forthcoming in any of the accounts of that dynasty so far published.

In response to an invitation from many scholars, Mr. Narasimhachar commenced to illustrate very early in his period of office, important specimens of sculpture in Mysore which created a world-wide interest. He was also able to complete

the text of many inscriptions which were so far imperfect. In 1914, an inscription was procured belonging to the tenth century, which established the antiquity of Bangalore, exploded the myth of its being called the city of beans and established its foundation in the twelfth century during the time of Vīra Ballāla II. In the next year (1915), the Hosakote copper-plate added to the Ganga genealogy, a king Vijayakṛṣṇavarma, son of Mādhavavarman. And another copper-plate of Harihara II received from Krisṇarajapete (Agrahara Bachalli plate) gave the exact date of the death of Bukka. In the year 1916, a detailed study of Sringeri was made and considerable light was shed on our knowledge of the Gurus of Sringeri and their part in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. The study of Ganga plates found in the Maṭha of Sringeri and another set received from Mulbagal were of considerable historical importance. In the year 1916–17, further inscriptional evidence was found for placing the Ganga king Durvinīta and Śri Vikrama. The copper-plate inscription of a Punad king was also discovered, belonging to the middle of the sixth century. Two great evidences were also discovered at Māragondanahalli in the Devanahalli taluk and the pieces of pottery found there were listed. The discovery of Tippu's letters to Sringeri guru was received with great interest and they showed that Tippu was not as intolerant as he was represented to be. The only lithic record so far found of Śri Vikrama was discovered during this year. In the year 1917–18 the Dombal plates of Harihara II were discovered as also the Tagare plates of the Kadamba king Bhogi Varman, a name not hither to known through the published records of the early Kadamba dynasty. Mr. Narasimhachar was able to establish the genuineness of the early Ganga inscriptions and the work of the Mysore Archælogical Department in connection with that dynasty will always be remembered gratefully as remarked by English scholars. The monographs of Belur and Sōmanathapur temples received world-wide recognition. In the following year (1919) a set of copper-plates of the Ganga king Rājamalla II in about 900 A.D.,

registering a grant to a Śaiva teacher named *Netraśiva* was an important find and some plates received from the Mulbagal Maṭṭ of Tirthahalli taluk gave interesting information regarding the Bhāgavata Sāmpradāya. In the year 1920, Mr. Narasimhachar visited Karli, Wellington, Kanheri, Badami, Elura and and Ajanta caves. He has given a remarkable description of these with illustrations in the report. Among the archæological discoveries of the year may be mentioned some Ganga and Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants. During the year, a Ganga grant of Varaguha was found which gave a full account of the dynasty.

Mr. Narasimhachar retired from service from the 1st July 1922. He showed that the State of Mysore was no backwater in the early period of its history. It has established connections with some of the greatest personages in history from Candragupta and Asoka to Nepolean and Wellington. In the course of sixteen years, Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar deciphered and dealt with five thousand new records; visited and described one thousand Hindu, Jaina and Muhammadan structures; studied four thousand one hundred accounts and examined about one thousand eight hundred palm-leaf manuscripts. He got one thousand two hundred and fifty photographs and one hundred and twenty drawings prepared and had a substantial number of them illustrated in his reports. Further, a hundred bound volumes containing transliterations of one hundred and twenty-five Sanskrit and Kannada works were copied and placed in the Oriental Library. The exhaustive General Index to the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* was prepared. The architectural drawings for illustrating some of the notable artistic structures of Mysore were published. Selections were made from the inscriptions of matters of historical and social interest to the public. The revised editions of Sravaṇabeḷogoḷa inscriptions and of the *Karnātaka Śabdānuśāsana* were published. An account of the lives of the Kannada poets was also published. Mr. Narasimhachar reviewed nearly two hundred and fifty books and manuscripts. His inscriptions added considerably to our knowledge with regard to the Gangas. Andhra and Chinese coins were

discovered and studied. Scholars like Vincent Smith and Havell regarded his work as scholarly, fascinating and credit-worthy, exhibiting results of amazing industry and full of most useful material without padding. And his reports were reckoned as the best in India. Mr. Narasimhachar read several papers before the Mythic Society. On the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Society, Mr. Narasimhachar presided over the concluding day of the proceedings when he carried the audience to a still greater height by his vivid and graphic description of " Greater India ". We had fondly looked forward to many more years of useful service from him. Though old in age, he was young in his enthusiasm for the work he had undertaken and it was a calamity that Mr. Narasimhachar could not be spared to us for some years at least to complete a few things on which he had set his heart. We had expected a complete account of the Kannada Language, Literature and History, more particularly relating to Mysore from him. We had also hoped that he would be able to publish a book on the Hoysala Architecture in the study of which he was a past-master. In mournful obedience to the decrees of fate he has departed and we pray that his soul may rest in peace.

S. SRIKANTAYA.

REVIEWS

Nānārtha Dīpikai
(A Tamil Lexicon of Homonyms)

BY KAVIRAJA MUTHUSWAMI PILLAI OF TINNEVELLY
EDITED WITH NOTES BY
S. ANAVARATHAVINAYAGAM PILLAI, M.A., L.T.
Reader in Tamil, Oriental Research Institute,
University of Madras
(*Madras University Tamil Series, No. 6. Price Rs. 6*)

IT was the custom in olden days that those who wanted to become good scholars in Tamil should master Nighaṇṭus of the type of *Padinonrām Nighaṇṭu.* Even now it is the practice in certain Tamil Schools to make the students get by heart the nighaṇṭus. *Nānārtha-Dīpikai* written by a famous scholar, Kaviraja Muthuswami Pillai of Tinnevelly and very ably edited with notes by Mr. S. Anavarathavinayagam Pillai, M.A., L.T., belongs to that order of works. Really this is very useful for anyone who desires mastery in Tamil language and literature. Since the author is a good scholar in Sanskrit also he has freely too many Sanskrit words in this work. It is a highly praiseworthy act of the Madras University to bring such monumental works of pre-eminent authors as this to light. The verses are all of the highest order and they have got a natural flow in them. So it is easy for students to get by heart the stanzas of this work. There is no doubt that those engaged in linguistic studies will reap immense benefit from this work. This work is completely free from unnecessary adjuncts which obscure the meaning. Even though rhyme is made the basis of classification in *Cūḍāmaṇi Nighaṇṭu* and in this work some rhyme sections contain words that do not belong to them, defects have been avoided in this work.

There is no doubt that this work will be welcomed by the Tamil-knowing public.

S. R.

"Phaladeepika"

Text and Translation

By Panditabhushana V. Subrahmanya Sastri

(*Basavangudi, Bangalore. Price Rs.* 5)

Students of Astrology already owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Subrahmanya Sastri for his splendid translation and notes to *Brihat Jātaka*, *Jātaka Pārijāta* and *Sripati-Paddhati.* He has added to that debt in great measure by his latest publication. Though this famous work of Mantreswara has been available in *grantha* characters and latterly in Devanagiri script also, and in Tamil translations, this is the first English translation of this fascinating study in Astrology. The text is critically edited and is presented in its full form for the first time. The explanatory notes form an important and useful feature and their value is greatly enhanced by the author's wide study and large experience as a translator of the great works above mentioned and as a practical teacher. The work before us is remarkable for its masterly exposition of the effects of transit (गोचार), the effects of *Bhavas*, and the classification of the *Parivarthana Yogas*. A full explanation of *Sarvatobhadracakra* is another unique feature of the publication before us.

As rightly pointed out by the translator, "Astrology is no longer looked upon with derision." The ill-repute which attaches to its practice by some is the result of imperfections in data and in calculations and is not due to defects in the science itself. The principal data, namely, the exact date, time and place of birth, are seldom correctly given. There is always great difficulty in getting at the correct time. Calculations have to be minute and detailed as on them depends the calculation of the relative strength of the planets and the *lagna* (ascendant at the time of nativity) and of the 13 *vargas* of the planets.

Predictions go wrong when the qualifying factors are not allowed for, but only the major trends are relied upon. For example, in predicting on *gocāra*, the ignoring of *bedha* will often lead to contrary results.

And last of all, it is forgotten that Astrology is only a science indicating tendencies and environment resulting from past *karma* and does not finally determine events in all respects. The field for free will still remains and the scope for election at the crossways also exists. These important qualifications are given by the author in the following terms :—

XVI—49. दशापहाराष्टवर्ग गोचारे गृहेषु नृणां विषमास्थितेष्वपि ।
जपेच्च तत्प्रीतिकरैः सुकर्मभिः करोति शान्तिं व्रतदान वन्दनैः ॥

XVI—50. अहिंसकस्य दान्तस्य धर्मार्जितधनस्य च ।
सर्वदा नियमस्थस्य सदा सानुग्रहा ग्रहाः ॥

The four publications of Panditabhushana Subrahmanya Sastriar form a valuable quartette and we confidently commend them to all lovers of the science.

A. V. R.

Mahāvīra
(His Life and Teachings)
By Dr. Bimala Churn Law
(Luzac & Co., London)

As claimed by Dr. Law in his Preface, the treatise before us "will be found useful by all persons interested in the study of Jainism". The method pursued by him to reconstruct an account of the life and teachings of Mahāvīra—the founder of Jainism—the last of the Tīrthankaras—is useful and reliable. While the Jain texts afford direct evidence of Mahāvīra's life and teachings, the Buddhist texts afford collateral evidence for confirming or rejecting details.

Dr. Law has not only sketched the main events of Mahāvīra's life but depicted a fairly vivid picture of "the social, political, economic, religious and other conditions of the time in which Mahāvīra lived, moved and preached".

The events of Mahāvīra's life are of absorbing interest, particularly the penance and austerities of over twelve years which this scion of the princely house of Jñātr Kshatriyas of Vaisāli underwent before he attained the highest knowledge and intuition, called *Kevala*, at the age of forty-two.

His teachings, however, are of even greater interest. Even to-day, twenty-four centuries after his passing away, they command the faith and ennoble the lives of over a million Indians. Their main principles of *Ahimsa* and *Kriyavāda* or *Karmavada* have entered into the marrow of all Hindu thought.

The goal of life, according to him, is "*Sukha*" or infinite bliss. This infinite bliss is not reachable through the finite happiness of even so fortunate among men as the reigning monarchs. A characteristic slogan of his immediate disciples was "Had it been possible to obtain bliss through worldly happiness, King Bimbisara of Magadha would certainly have obtained it."

This infinite bliss is attainable by human efforts. The ultimate object of Jainism is *Nirvāṇa* which "consists in peace". *Nirvāṇa* is just another name of *Moksha* or liberation, *Mukti* or deliverance. And it is open to all. Mahāvīra's great message to mankind is that birth is nothing, that caste is nothing, and that *Karma* is everything, and on the destruction of *Karma*, the future happiness depends. Salvation was preached by him as the birth-right of all, without distinction of caste, creed or sex.

Ahimsa is the very first principle of higher life that he inculcated to his disciples and followers. This principle had a salutary effect on man's habitual diet. It served to mitigate the rigour of criminal justice. The *Kriyavāda* or doctrine of action, which he preached in common with his younger contemporary, Buddha, made men conscious of their responsibility for all their acts, mental, vocal or bodily. He preached right knowledge, right faith, right action. His path was comprehensive and comprised the principles of *Jñāna Yoga*, *Bhakti Yoga* and *Karma Yoga*.

The joint principle of compassion and action preached by him has been the motive force for innumerable acts of princely charity for alleviation of suffering through all ages. Mahāvīra's example and teachings have ennobled and exalted innumerable lives in the past and activate to-day a very large number of noble lives.

We welcome this excellent treatise as an aid to better and more sympathetic understanding of the great path.

A. V. R.

Gaṇeśa

BY ALICE GETTY

(*Oxford University Press. Price 42 sh.*)

THIS delightful monograph on the elephant-faced God by the distinguished author of *The God of Northern Buddhism* is a valuable contribution to the study alike of Hindu iconography and of the development of Hindu theistic ideals. Gaṇeśa—the Lord of Obstacles—their remover—like his father Śiva and other deities associated with Śiva would appear to have been adapted to Hindu theology from the old Dravidian theology. The widespread worship of this deity in Greater India colonised by South Indians in the pre-Christian period and the early centuries of the Christian era is only to be expected. The equally widespread invasion of Gaṇeśa worship in Tibet, China and Japan through Buddhism is an indication of how Buddhism, which was itself a revolt against later-day Vedic ritualism, derived inspiration from the non-Aryan theistic beliefs and rituals current at the time, in its development on popular lines after the passing away of its Founder.

The author's treatment of his subject is masterly. The eight chapters describe respectively Origin of Gaṇeśa, Gaṇeśa in Indian Literature, in Indian Iconography and in Indian Sculptures and Paintings, Gaṇeśa in Buddhism in India, Tibet, Chinese Turkistan and Nepal, Gaṇeśa in Burma, Siam and Indo-China, Gaṇeśa in Java, Bali and Borneo, Gaṇeśa in China and Gaṇeśa in Japan. The material presented is comprehensive and the author's suggestions and conclusions are well documented and fully justified. The book is as excellent in its get-up as in its contents. The two coloured plates, the forty half-tone plates and eight text-figures amply illustrate the critical and scholarly text and enable the reader to follow

with interest the account of the development and spread of the Gaṇeśa cult in history and across the Continent.

The suggestive Introduction by the distinguished Orientalist Alfred Foucher adds interest and value to the monograph. But his evaluation of the place of Tantrism in the development of the Gaṇeśa cult or of Hinduism would not command universal acceptance. The synthesis of the Hindu religious ideal is enunciated in the ancient text "एकं सत् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति" and explained in beautiful language by Svami Vivekanda in the theory of Iṣṭam (Complete works, Vol. 1, p. 131). Gaṇeśa became the Iṣṭa Devata of a sect and was naturally exalted to the highest pedestal by it. The writer knows at least one living person who has advanced a very long way towards realisation, by the worship of, and meditation on, Gaṇeśa.

A study of the lives of such devotees will be a fitting conclusion to the elaborate, scholarly and useful study of the development of the Gaṇeśa cult and iconography now before us.

A. V. R.

Cēra Kings of the Sangam Period

By K. G. Sesha Aiyar

(*Luzac & Co., London*)

Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar requires no introduction to the readers of this Journal. He is one of our long-standing members and valued contributors. The book before us is the result of long study and patient research and is characterised by the independence, and judicial discernment which we associate always with this ex-judge of the High Court of Travancore.

The chronology of the Cēra kings of the Sangam period and the order of their succession is made clear by a comparative study of the Sangam literature and of contemporary evidence from elsewhere. The life, manners and customs of the people of the Cēra kingdom in the early centuries of the Christian era are vividly described. Many a doubtful point is ably discussed and satisfactorily settled. But to our mind, the author has failed to appreciate one point, to wit, that the Cēra

viceroyalty or the North-Eastern Cēra dynasty ruling over Kongu-nād with its capital at Karur on the Amaravati, apparently named the city and the river after the capital and the river in the mother country or principal kingdom, and that the references in literature might be to either place or either river according to context.

Mr. Sesha Aiyar's description of the ideals which animated the people is as vivid as his elucidation of obscure points of chronology or exigesis, as the following extracts show :—

"At the time of war, the women-folk urged their male relations to march to battle, resolved to win or die like heroes.*** They regarded a dastard in war with contempt.*** *Puram* 278, given below, depicts vividly the significant strait in the character of the ancient Tamil dame.

"The dame of ancient age, with shrunken veins,
And loosely hanging tissues, heard her son
Had from the battle turned in fear and fled.
In towering rage she vowed, if that be so,
She would for every shame cut off her breasts
That gave the despicable coward suck.
She snatched a sword, swept with impetuous speed
Into the gory battle-field, and searched
The heaps of warriors slain, when lo ! she found
Stretched on the field of glory, cut in twain,
Her valiant son. Then swelled, indeed, with pride
The mother's heart, which was with gladness filled,
Intenser far than when she gave him birth !"

The book is a valuable addition to the literature about the Sangam period.

A. V. R.

New Imperial Series LIV : South Indian Inscriptions Vol. VIII

EDITED BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A.
[*Superintendent for Epigraphy* (*Retired*). 1937. *Price, Rs.* 21]

THE eighth volume of the *South Indian Inscriptions* has been published and is now available to scholars interested in the study of the history of the South Indian Dynasties. Three

proofs were read and corrected and finally sent to the Press on the 1st July 1935, as the Preface would show. The volume was published a few weeks ago after an unusual delay of nearly two years. The collection of inscriptions in this volume were those that were gathered by the department in the years 1902 and 1903. Their texts are mostly in Tamil excepting some which are in Kannada and Telugu. The volume opens with a valuable introduction by the editor, disclosing the most important facts of history that have been omitted to be mentioned in the annual reports for the years in which they were collected. At the end of the preface adequate acknowledgements are made for the assistance received from the staff of the department, in the preparation of the volume. The end of the volume contains Appendices which give (i) a list of inscriptions arranged according to dynasties in chronological order giving also the kings and the commencing words of their introductions, (ii) a list of inscriptions that have already been published, (iii) the details of dates found in the epigraphs calculated and expressed in the English equivalents. With all these, a new feature of the present volume is that in the margins of every page, the names of the places whence the epigraphs were collected, are printed for the sake of easy reference.

The volume contains a mine of information that would interest the student of South Indian History and of Tamil Literature. The earliest inscriptions contained in this volume belong to the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman. The other kings of this dynasty whose inscriptions are found in this collection are Teḷḷāṟṟeṟinda Nandivarman and Nṛipatuṅga. The chronology of these later Pallava kings has been very correctly made out by the most laudable efforts of Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, in one of his recent articles entitled 'the three Lālguḍi inscriptions' published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 46 f. According to that scheme of chronology the reign of Dantivarman falls in the period 761–812 A.D. For proving the correctness of this scheme, we may advance another useful approximate proof. The inscriptions of

Uttaramallūr before the time of Parāntaka, in whose reign the two famous inscriptions were engraved, belong to the reigns of five generations of kings starting from Dantivarman. Allowing a moderate estimate of thirty years reign for each king, five generations would take us to a hundred and fifty years prior to Parāntaka I, whose first regnal year we know to be 906–07 A.D. Deducting 150 years from this year we obtain roughly the year 756–57 A.D. for the beginning of the rule of Dantivarman. This is very near the actual date and the approximate proof thus afforded only confirms the correctness of the dates obtained in the scheme of chronology planned by the author. His article is a *chef d'œuvre* of its kind, being well founded on unquestionable documentary evidence. Another important information obtained from this volume is that Aggaḷaneṉmaḍi was the name of the queen of Dantivarman, the father of Nandivarman III. That she was the queen of Dantivarman was also made plain by an inscription of the last volume. Among the later Pallava kings, Peruñjiṅga's inscriptions are numerous. From them we learn his other names, *viz.*, Avaṉiyāḷappirandān, Bhāratamvallaperumāl, Mallaikāvalan, Pallavarvēndaṉ, Niśśaṅkamallaṉ, etc. Besides, the names of several of his subordinate chiefs are also known from his epigraphs. A formidable list of presents and constructions are mentioned in Nos. 51 and 69, which were made by the king and his chiefs. Other than the Pallavas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭās and the Western Cāḷukyas are also represented by their inscriptions.

Of the whole collection, it may be said that the major portion belongs to the Cōḷas. Almost all the kings of the Vijayālaya line are represented with their different historical introductions. There are a good number of epigraphs belonging to unidentified kings, Rājakēśarivarman and Parakēśarivarman. Of these some might belong to Vijayālaya and some others to Āditya. No. 691 is an inscription of the seventeenth year of the reign of king Rājakēśarivarman with an introduction of "madiraikoṇḍa". It is quite possible that it belongs to the reign of Sundara Cōḷa. In that case Uttamacōḷa, his

successor, should have been nominated to the throne three years earlier. Among the earliest Cōḷa inscriptions we get a good number of Parāntaka's time ranging from the 6th to the 41st years of reign. The latest information about this king's duration of reign is very interesting. Parāntaka I reigned for more than 46 years as had been given out for the first time by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer. Then a cry of disapproval was raised in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* and elsewhere by some scholars, that it was not quite possible, as the author had relied on a stray inscription. But later researches have not only proved the correctness of Mr. Aiyer's statement but also showed that more than 46 years was the period of his rule. C. R. Krishnamacharlu records in *A. R. for Ep.*, 1931–32, p. 49 f. "Among the Cōḷa inscriptions collected during the year is an interesting and important record of Parāntaka I (No. 200) coming from the Puñgaṉūr Taluk of the Chittoor District. Much controversy has hitherto risen regarding the latest year of the king's reign (*vide A. R. for Ep.*, p. 256, 99 ff. and *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 85). Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer has proposed a reign of 46 years for the king while the late Mr. Venkoba Rao considered that Parāntaka might have died about A.D. 947–48, *i.e.*, in his 40th regnal year, though stray epigraphs are found for him for a few years subsequent to that date. The supposition of Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer that the king must have reigned for 46 years is not only confirmed now but it is also established further that the king reigned for over 46 years by the above record which is in Kannada and clearly dates the inscription in words 'in the forty-eigth regnal year' (Maduragoṇḍa Gō Parakēśari nālvat-teṇṭāgē). Thus it will be seen that Parāntaka lived and ruled at least till 955 A.D., and also that his hold over the northern parts of the Cōḷa dominions, *i.e.*, the modern districts of North Arcot, Chittoor, etc., continued even up to so late as 955, though subsequently the territory passed again into the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭās for a short time." From this it is clear that his period of rule was from 906–07 A.D. to 955 A.D. This volume which contains almost all the kings of

the dynasty with their peculiar introductions, will prove of immense help in the study of their military exploits and the cultural attainments of the people. The details found in their various epigraphs would also prove useful for the study of the ancient polity of the land.

No. 54 of this volume belongs to the reign of Peruñjiṅga. This contains a reference to a certain Periyadēvaṟ who had made gifts in his 3rd and 4th years. By this must be meant the previous ruler who might be ordinarily taken to be Rājarāja III. But in this case, the reference must be to Rājarāja's father Kulōttuṅga III and not to Rājarāja III for the latter was the contemporary of Peruñjiṅga, in whose reign the gōśāla mentioned in the record might have been named Kulōttuṅga-śōlaṉ tirugōśālai. The Pāṇḍyas who are represented in the lithic records of this volume belong to the mediæval period.

There are some useful references which are of interest to the students of Tamil literature. From the works of the Sangam period we learn that Vēḷ Evvi had under his sway the two important territorial divisions of Miḻalaikkūṟṟam and Muttūṟṟukkuṟṟam. These have been curiously enough without any evidences, located in the Tanjore District by some scholars. The present volume contains references in Nos. 247, 219 f which definitely place them in the Pāṇḍya country and they thus confirm the statements made by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer in his *Historical Scketches*, p. 115 f. Scholars interested in Tamil literature get some references to Vēḷ Pāri's dominion Paṟambu-nāḍu and some of its sub-divisions. *Śilappadigāram*, one among the great Tamil works, contains a section of a canto specially devoted to the story of the festival of Indra, the failing of the performance of which is stated to bring dire results on the king and his country. No. 529 of this collection coming from the time of Parāntaka's reign contains a reference to this festival and it indicates, therefore, that the Indiraviḻā as it is called, was not altogether an unknown festival to the Tamil land and that it was continued to be performed for centuries in Southern India though there remain no traces of it in modern times.

This precious volume in company with the previous ones of the series are of immeasurable aid to the scholars who are engaged in the study of the ancient administrative institutions of Southern India. This study has hardly begun and for which there is a great volume of material available. The sifting of these and the scientific study of them remains a desideratum *ab initio*. It may be added that the note of warning sounded by some scholars in the field that the inscriptions of one place and time are not to be studied along with those of another locality and period, is as impracticable as it is unnecessary. The nature of the study and the character of the materials do not necessitate the strict rules. It will be seen that the sounders of this warning are themselves unable to follow the rules of study laid down. They begin generalising over epigraphs from different places and of vast periods of South Indian History extending to over hundreds of years, and they are able to honour their warning more in the breach than in its observance. Colossal ignorance prevails about the administrative institutions other than the *Śabhā*. Ignorance in this matter is explained away by the scholars with light remarks and it is said that they were not regularly constituted bodies, and that informal meetings of the village elders or the villagers generally proved sufficient for their purposes, and it is added that a regular constitutional system was not necessary for bodies other than the *Śabhā!* Further, some of the most incorrect ideas to which their planned study has led them are with regard to the bodies called Ūr and others mentioned in the Tamil inscriptions of this and other volumes. It is said that "there was no written law or even a distinctly formulated principle intended to govern the conduct of these groups ; they acted for the most part in their separate spheres of social network, and came together occasionally for considering specific questions of common concern." "In this manner they found it possible to evolve a workable procedure to secure material understanding and adjustment." Further, "the power of the king and his officials was a sort of reserve in the background to be drawn upon when the forces of local

regulation failed to function properly or, in extreme cases, broken down altogether." A crowning statement which fully lays bare the wrong conceptions formed, says that the body of Ūr "appears to have been a kind of primitive gathering, the descendant of the earlier Tamil *manram*, in which people met together and managed business somehow, without any set rules of formal procedure." These wrong conclusions have been the result of the unnecessary warnings and precautions. There are numerous inscriptions in this volume which contain the transactions of these bodies. They give out the permanent endowments received by them and deposits of all kinds given in their charge. They record also the remissions of taxes made by them. These and other functions which they performed, are almost alike in character and nature to those that were the duties of the *Śabhā* of the Brahmadēya villages. It would be evident to any casual observer that the Ūr and other bodies were assemblies like the *Śabhā* and that they carried out almost similar duties in their different localities or territorial divisions. What is more, they acted sometimes conjointly and made many kinds of regulations and transactions. One among the many examples for such a conjoint action is recorded in No. 66 of this volume. It states that the Ūr and the *Śabhā* received land and money and agreed to pay annually for all time to come fixed quantities of paddy. Again to say that they had no written laws, formulated principles or workable procedures, is merely denying the true state of things, consciously or unconsciously ignoring all the facts borne out by these epigraphs. The words '*kuṟaivaṟakkūḍiyirundu*' found in many of them means that they assembled without deficiency in the number required for the quorum, and the term '*emmiliśaindu*' means agreeing among themselves. These and other terms which are contained in the inscriptions recording the functions and transactions, clearly indicate that they were not a motley crowd or stray gathering of individuals as is understood by the scholars, but must have been regularly constituted bodies having well-defined forms of procedure and rules of conduct, transacting business of

all kinds such as remissions of taxes and the like. It is impossible to think of a conjoint action in matters of great public importance unless the Ūr and other bodies were regularly constituted.

It may be remarked that the volume is not illustrated with plates as usual, but an explanation can be found in the fact that the previous volumes have sufficient facsimilies and that there are no very early lithic records in this collection so as to necessitate the illustrations. The absence of plates perhaps accounts for the reduced price of the volume. This volume is well got-up and the price though much lower than that of its predecessor, is yet moderately high.

K. S. V.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Solidaridad, Pro-España Antifascista, Comité Central de Coordinación Barcelona*)

Spain

THE civilized world cannot stay unconcerned with the intense drama which is actually taking place in Spain. The war in this country is a fight to death between the reaction which has enslaved it for centuries and is now playing its last card to regain a dominion which they were gradually losing, having not hesitated for this purpose to unloose a fratricidewar in which the end justifies the means, and the liberal people of Spain profoundly republican and progressionist, refusing, at all costs, to renounce to a freedom hardly and honestly conquered by the people's votes.

The Spanish people is therefore not only struggling for its own freedom but also to save the Democracy of all Europe where the reaction is strongly and deliberately threatening. The victory of the Spanish people will be a definitive blow in the chief countries of Europe where the reaction has been, for years, preparing its attack on Democracy.

It is therefore the duty of everyone not willing to help the reaction in its hideous task to assist the Spanish people who is outrageously slandered by an interested and paid for press.

Spain is actually in need of everything, funds, food, clothes, under-clothes, sanitary material, etc., and everybody of liberal spirit must make it duty to contribute.

In many countries committees have already been formed to assist Spain. Where such committees do not exist yet, they must be created.

All the committees as well as groups desirous to organize these committees must inquire at the organization created in accordance with the legitimate authorities, under the name of "Comité Central de Co-ordination" "COCENCOO" whose

task is to inform and co-ordinate the various efforts in order to avoid a waste of energy, loss of time, hesitation, doubts, etc. All correspondence must be addressed to the General Secretary of COCENCOO, Claris 97, Barcelona, who will furnish all necessary information and who is sending his heartiest anticipated thanks for all good-will shown towards the Spanish people.

It is not to be forgotten that should the reaction be victorious in Spain it would gain strength in your own country which would be in danger itself to be sooner or later the battlefield of a war similar to the one now raging on this side of the Pyrenees. In helping the defenders of the Spanish Democracy you are defending your own freedom.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Presented by :—

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

The Coming of a Man from Asia in Light of Recent Discoveries.

A Survey of South Western Archæology.

The Antiquity of Man in America in the Light of Archæology.

The Ruins of Tenapna, Honduras.

A 17th Century Letter of Gabriel Diaz Vara Clanderson, Bishop Cuba, Describing the Indians and Indian Mission of Florida.

Report of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute and Financial Report of the Executive Committee of the Board of Regents, 1936.

Government of Mysore—

Quarterly Health Report for October-December, 1935.

Quarterly Health Report for January-April, 1936.

Quarterly Health Report for April-June, 1936.

Annual Report of the Mysore Department of Health for 1935, Vol. II—Vital Statistics.

Report of the Mysore Military Department for the year 1935-36.

Proceedings of the Mysore Representative Assembly, June 1936.

Proceedings of the Mysore Legislative Council, June-July 1936.

Report of the Administration of Mysore for 1934–35.

Report of the Administration of Mysore for 1935–36.

Modern Mysore—by Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, M.A.

Revenue Administration Report, 1935-36.

Annual Report on the Working of Government Press and Central Book-Depot, 1935–36.

Report on the Working of the Store Purchase Committee, June 1936.

Report of the Kunigal Stud Farm for the year ending 30th June 1936.

Annual Report of Mysore State Medical Department.

Administration Report of the Krishnaraja Sagara and allied works for the year 1935-36.

Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in Mysore for the year 1935-36.

Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in Mysore for the year 1935-36.

Administration Report of the Inspector-General of Police.

Bangalore Press—

Srīkara Bhāshya—by Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.

University of Mysore—

Calendar of the Mysore University for the year 1936-37, Vol. I.

Kannada Kaipidi, Vol. I.

Authors—

Bhagavan Sri Ramana—by K. S. Seshagiri, B.A.

ವಿಶಾಲ ಭಾರತ (Vishala Bharata)—by K. Subrahmanyam, M.A.

ವಿಜಯನಗರ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯ ಸ್ಥಾಪಕರಾರೆಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ದಾಖಲೆ ಸಂಗ್ರಹ —by V. R. Hanumanthaya.

Sri Ramakrishna—by K. Devanathan, M.A.

The Ethical and Philosophical Significance of Bhagavadgita —by N. K. Venkatesam Panthulu, B.A., B.T.

The Hymn of Aruna—by N. K. Venkatesam Panthulu, B.A., B.T.

The Ruins of Hampi—by N. K. Venkatesam Panthulu, B.A., B.T.

Kandalur Salai—by S. Desikavinayagam Pillai.

The Philosophy of Religion *versus* the Philosophy of Science —by Albert Eagle.

ಬುದ್ಧ ವಚನ ಪರಿಚಯ (Buddhavachana Parichaya)—by G. P. Rajaratnam.

ಪಾಲಿ ಪಜ್ಜ ಪುಷ್ಪಂಜಲಿ—by G. P. Rajaratnam

Mahavira—by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D.

Jesus Christs's Work for a Change of Heart—by M. S. Ramaswamier.

Who Art Thou and Other Verses—by K. S. Seshagiri, B.A.

Universal Peace—by Ramana Dasa Sadananda.

Ancient Jafanna—by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, J.P.

Cēra Kings of the Sangam Period—by K. G. Sesha Iyer, B.A., B.L.

ಭಾಸ ಮಹಾಕವಿ—by C. K. Venkataramiah, M.A., LL.B.

Mrs. B. Venkoba Rao—

Sanskrit Manuscript of Varadambikaparinayam.

Sri Venkataraya Suraiha Krutayah (श्री वेंकटरायसूरेः कृतयः) 2 copies.

Sri Harivamsa Champuhu (श्री हरिवंश चम्पूः) 2 copies.

Samavruta Mala,—Naikacharitam Cha (समवृत्तमाला, नौकाचरित्रं च).

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Robert Lodger's Farm Accounts, 1610–20.

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Fascism—Doctrine and Institutions.

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Gaṇeśa—By Alice Getty.

Manager of Publications, Delhi—

Archæological Survey of India and Annual report for 1930–34, Vols. I and II.

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Supt. of Archaeology, Gwalior State—

A Hand Book of Gwalior—by M. B. Garde, B.A.

Director of Archaeological Reserches in Mysore—

Archæological Report for 1934.

Man-in-India, Office, Ranchi—

The Kharias, Vols. I and II by Roy.

The Travancore Government—

Travancore Administration Report for 1111 M.E.

Simmel & Co.—

Ostasien Zentral-Asien Indien.

N.V. Uitgevers-Maastschappiji, AE. E. Kluwer,-Deventer, Holland—

The Inner Life—By Hazarat Inyat Khan.

The Gayan—by Hazarat Inyat Khan.

Vaidika Ṣamshodha Mandala, Poona—

Rig Veda Samhita.

Manager, Sri Udupi Subrahmanya Choultry—

ಸುಬ್ರಹ್ಮಣ್ಯಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ ವರ್ಣನೆ

Decca University—

Annual Report of the Dacca University for 1934-35.

Annual Report of the Dacca University for 1935-36.

University of Madras—

Nanartha Dipikai—by S. Anavarathavinayagam Pillai, M.A., L.T.

The Siddhanteasangraha of Appaya Dikshita.

Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute, Poona—

Mahabharata—by V. S. Suktankar.

V. Ramaswamy Satsrulu & Sons—

Mahabharata—Shantiparvan, Part III—by Dr. P. P. S. Sastry.

Behar and Orrisa Research Society—

Patna—Gaya Reports, Vol. I and II.

The Dharma Samaj, Bangalore—

Utility of Honesty in Trade.

Oriental Library, Mysore—

Drona Parva in Kannada.

Index to Castes and Tribes.

Motilal Bansasi Dass, Lahore—

Creative India—by Benoy Kumar Sarkar.

Kuppanabhudaya—by Gauri Shankar.

Purchased—

Phala Deepika (Adhyayas I-XXVII).

The Indian Annual Register, 1936, Vol I, January-June.

Subscriptions Received.

MESSRS.	Rs.	A.
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Miss A. E. Nash ..	5	0
A. V. Ramanathan ..	100	0
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C. V. Narasiah	3	0
Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizayanagaram	3	0
Maurice Frydman ..	5	0

EXCHANGES

Editors of:—

1. "Modern Review," 120/2, *Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
2. "The Hindu Message," *Srirangam.*
3. "Wednesday Review," *Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.*
4. "The South Indian Research," *Vepery, Madras.*
5. "The Eastern Buddhist," 39, *Ono Machi, Koyama, Kyoto (Japan).*
6. "The Christian College Magazine," *Madras.*
7. "The Educational Review," *Mount Road, Madras.*
8. "The Vedic Magazine," *Gurukula, Kangri, District Bijnor.*
9. "Zeitschrift Der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft," *Halle, Germany.*
10. "The Sanskrit Bharathi," *Burdwan, Bengal.*
11. "The Journal of the American Oriental Society," *New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.*
12. "The Kalpaka," *Tinnevelly.*
13. "Man," *The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.*
14. "Man in India," *Ranchi, B.N.Ry. (India).*
15. "Djawa," *Kanarillaan, Kadipolo, Solo.*
16. "The Karnataka Granthamala," *Mysore.*
17. "The Jaina Gazette," 436, *Mint Street, Madras.*
18. "The Indian Social Reformer," *Navsari Chambers, Outram Road, (opposite Hornby Road), Fort, Bombay.*
19. "Prabuddha Bharata," *Adwaita Asrama, Mayavati P.O., Almora Dist.*
20. "Vishva-Bharathi," 10, *Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*
21. "Navashakti," *Dharwar.*
22. "The Shrine of Wisdom," *Aahlu*, 6, *Hermon Hill, London, E.* 11.
23. "Welfare," 91, *Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
24. "Buddhist Annual of Ceylon," *Colombo.*
25. "Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrika," *Bangalore.*
26. "Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica," *Simla.*
27. "Yogamimamsa," *Kunjavana, Lonavla, Bombay.*
28. "Maharaja's Sanskrit College Magazine," *Mysore.*
29. "The Mysore Gazette," *Librarian, Public Offices, Bangalore.*
30. "Prabuddha Karnataka," *University of Mysore, Mysore.*
31. "The Young Men of India," *K. T. Paul, Esq., B.A., The Thottam, Salem.*
32. "Al-Kalam," *Bangalore.*
33. "Vrittanta Patrika," *Mysore.*
34. "Mysore Co-operative Journal," *No.* 1, 1*st Road, Chamarajapet, Bangalore City.*
35. "Indian Historical Quarterly," 107, *Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta.*
36. "The Philosophical Quarterly," *Amalner (East Khandesh).*

37. "The Karnataka," *Basavangudi P.O., Bangalore City.*
38. "Rangabhumi," 3/34, *Manavarthepet, Bangalore City.*
39. "The Vedanta Kesari," *Ramakrishna Mutt, Mylapore, Madras.*
40. "Journal of Indian History," *Srijayavasam, East Mada Street, Madras.*
41. "Asia Major," 2, *Store Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.*
42. "The Mysore Economic Journal," *Gundopunt Street, Bangalore City.*
43. "The Catholic Educational Review," *Mangalore.*
44. "The Indian Thinker," *Anantha Rama Varma Press, Fort, Trivandrum.*
45. "Rural India," *No.* 9, *Brodie's Road, Mylapore, Madras.*
46. "Swadharma," *No.* 1647, *Desai Oni, Dharwar.*
47. "Bharati," *Post Box No.* 212, *Madras.*
48. "Sanathana Dharma Sanjivini," *No.* 445, *Kempananjamba Agrahar, Mysore.*
49. "Viswa Karnataka," *New Tharagupet, Bangalore City.*
50. "Federated India," 323, *Trivattyur High Road, Tondiarpet, Madras.*
51. "Visvavani," "*Annapurna*", *Visvesvarapuram, Bangalore City.*
52. "Jayakarnataka," *Dharwar.*
53. "Journal of Oriental Research," *Madras.*
54. "Review of Philosophy and Religion," *Poona* 4.
55. "East of Suez," 110, *East* 50*th St.* (*East of Park Ave.*), *New York.*
56. "Yoga," *Yoga Institute, Bulsar, India.*
57. "Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society," *Allahabad, U.P.*
58. "The Aryan Path," 51, *Esplanade Road, Bombay.*
59. "Bulletin of the Sri Ramavarma Research Institute," *Trichur.*
60. "Sufi," 14, *Hamilton Rd., Bromley Kent, England.*
61. "Journal of Vedic Studies," *Lahore.*
62. "Indian Culture," *Indian Research Institute,* 55, *Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.*
63. "Buddha-Prabha," *Journal of the Buddha Society, Bombay.*
64. "Primitive Man," *Catholic Anthropological Conference, Washington.*
65. "The Poona Orientalist," *Oriental Book Agency, Shukravar Petha, Poona.*
66. Adhyatma Prakasa Karyalaya, *Bangalore.*
67. "Benares Hindu University Jounral", *Benares Hindu University P. O., Benares.*
68. "Islam", *Shernwala Gate, Lahore.*
69. "Bulletin of the Adyar Library," *Adyar, Madras.*
70. "Inner Culture," 3880, *San Rafael, Ave, Los Angels, California.*
71. "Triveni," 9, *Armenion Street, Madras.*
72. "Anthropological Bulletin of the Zoological Survey of India," *Calcutta.*
73. "The New Book Digest", *Kitab Mahal, Hornby Road, Bombay.*
74. "Karnataka Historical Research Society," *Dharwar.*

Publications from :—

75. THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, *Poona*.
76. THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY, *Simla*.
77. THE DIRECTOR OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCHES IN MYSORE, *Mysore*.
78. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, BIHAR & ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY, *Patna*.
79. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, "THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY," *Bombay Branch, Bombay*.
80. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, *1, Park Street, Calcutta*.
81. THE GENERAL SECRETARY, THE INDO-FRENCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Pondicherry*.
82. THE GENERAL MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
83. THE REGISTRAR, *Chief Secretariat, Fort St. George, Madras*.
84. THE REGISTRAR, MYSORE UNIVERSITY, *Mysore*.
85. THE REGISTRAR, UNIVERSITY OF DACCA, *Ramna, Dacca*.
86. THE LIBRARIAN, MADRAS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, *Senate House, Triplicane, Madras*.
87. THE REGISTRAR, UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA, *Calcutta*.
88. LIBRARIAN, ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY, *Annamalainagar, Chidambaram*.
89. GOVERNMENT ARCHÆOLOGIST, *Cochin State, Trichur*.

The Secretaries of :—

90. THE CONNEMARA PUBLIC LIBRARY, *Madras*.
91. THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, *Hyderabad (Deccan)*.
92. THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCITY, 74, *Grosvenor Street, London, W. I.*
93. THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, *Poona*.
94. LE BIBLIOTHECAIRE, SOCIETE ASIATIQUE, 1, *Rue de Seine, Paris*.
95. THE PUNJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY, *Lahore*.
96. THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, *Washington, D.S. (U.S.A.)*
97. THE BANGIYA SAHITYA PARISHAD, 243/1, *Upper Circular Road, Calcutta*.
98. THE GUJARAT VIDYAPITH, *Ahmedabad*.
99. THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BOMBAY, *Town Hall, Fort, Bombay*.
100. THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, 172, *Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay*.
101. ASSOCIATION FRANCAISE DES AMIS DE L'ORIENT, *Musee Guimet, Place d'lena, Paris (XVI)*.
102. THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, *Rajahmundry*.
103. THE TELUGU ACADEMY, *Cocanada*.
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